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H.F.M

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for the year 1924

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Astute
(Emigration policy) 2 - 1 - 1924.

In the guise of an apparently desirable resolution the Extremist congress on Tuesday was persuaded to accept a most artfully contrived scheme to close the mouths of those of the Party who are anxious to stop all emigration of Indian labour. The Mover of the resolution, Mr.C. Rajagopalachariar, herils from this Presidency, and he knows only too well that any proposal to prohibit emigration of Indian labourers would be very umpopular in this Province whence large numbers of Indian workers emigrate every year for lands where they can earn substantially more money than they could possibly earn in Madras and live under far better conditions. In order, therefore, that the prohibitionists should not capture the congress. And thus make Mr.C.Rajagopalachariar and those of his kind unpopular in very large circles in South India, be proposed that a committee (should be appointed to examine the Problem) ~~in~~ all its aspects and submit a report. The resolution was passed, and the subject this decently pigeonhold. What Mr.C.F.Andrews will say when he hears of Mr.Rajagopalachiari's success can possibly be imagined. But the former does not belong to Madras, and the same expediency of modifying political principles to suit local circumstances, of adopting the methods of the opportunist, are not so pressing on him in regard to the question of labour emigration. For our part. We congratulate Mr.Rajagopalachariar on bringing the congress to reasonable courses in respect of one matter at least, and applared his very same remark, almost the only one heard in the congress pandal during the sittings this year, that the immediate stoppage of the emigration of labourers ~~xxxxxx~~ sought less to the condition of the labouring classes becoming worse. Competition, even competition for labour, is good,

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and it is the birthright of the labourer that he should be able to sell his labour in the market that gives him the best return. Extremist doctrimaries would deprive him of the full enjoyment of this right, but happily they are of little account. Yet even the suggestion of such interference with the liberty of the individual indicates the lines on which the Extremists, should they come into power, would work. Individual rights and personal liberty would be at the caprice of every mononomanial with sufficient eloquence to convince his fellow Extremists.

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Labour and India. 8 - 1 - 1924.

While certain British papers have been indulging in alarmist progrostications regarding the disastrons effect on India and her administration of the advent of a labour government in Great Britain, the Extremist Press in India has been printing dateful assertions that the advent of the labour Party will not in any way tend to hasten swaraj, such a conflice of opinion runs strange at first right, but it is easily explained. The Extremists in India demand the immediate grant of complete Home Rule and are intolerent of any wise and cautions policy in the matter of constitutional reform. The alarmists in England have two objects in view. 1) the fostering of prejudice against the labour Party as a Party, 2) to prevent, by creating hostile public opinion, any rash concessions to the Extremists' demands. It is to be said to the credit of both the British and Indian Press that its more responsible elements refused to be intimidated either by the alarmists or the Extremists and are prepared to give the labour Party, should it come to office, fair play in its endeavours to carry on the overous task of governing. The man in the sheet in Britain and India has no delusions about the ability of a minority Party to introduce and carry through revolutionary proposals. The Labour Party, he recognises, is strictly confined by the limitations of its position, and its proposals will be qualified accordingly.

The leaders of the labour Party have made no secret of their understanding of their position. Moderation has been the keynote of their speeches ever since the election results were known. As regards India,

this is quite in keeping with the views of the labour Party as expressed by colonel Wedgewood nearly twelve months ago. These views he repeated in the course of an interview with the London correspondent of the "Hindu" Colonel Wedgwood condemns the Swarajist policy of wholesale obstruction in the coucnils. Like every other save politician he holds that such a policy is bound to fail because it only means stopping supplies which is impracticable. Obstruction continued willmake certification inevitable and colonel wedgwood does not scruple to endorse the use of this extraordinary power should it be necessary. Asked if certification would be possible under a Labour Government he replied. It is inevitable under any government until the Home Rule issue is finally settled. That is a brank and fearless reply, which does the speaker credit. It will notm of course, add to his popularity among the Extremists in India, but it shows a readiness to face facts despite the results which is praise worthy and quite in keeping with the traditions of British statesmanship.

Labour does not intend to act hastily in regard to the grant of further responsible to the Indian Legislatives. Nothing, it is clear, will be done until a further Reforms Commision has been appointed, has investigated the situation in India, and has recommended desirable changes. There will be no wholesale scrapping of the present Reforms Act. Such changes as are made will be made carefully unhurriedly, and constitutionally, and this is as should be. These changes may come so ner than they would have come under a conservative or liberal Government, though ever that is doubtful, but they will not come precipitously. Nor will Labour be intimidated by threats of boycott, of non-co-operation, or of civil disobedience Labour, above all, will be no less anxious

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than were the older politicial Parties to see that in granting self-government to India it does not repoace a bureaucracy by an oligarchy, that the interests of the depressed classes and out caste classes are adequately safeguarded. It is possible, and not probably, that, before granting further responsibility, Labour may demand definite proof that the submerged millions in India will receive better treatment under self-government than they receive now, and that no human being shall be guarded us untouchable. Labour is much more exacting on these matters than the older Parties; it is less tolerant of accepted convention; it has little patience with traditions and manool in the relations of man to man. And we should not be surprised to find that Labour makes the fulfilment of certain social conditions a preliminary to the grant of further powers, the effect of which would be to upset completely the domination of the dasites, the Alis, and similar exponents of revolution as a means of harnessing the underdog to the chariot of the top dog.

Civil Disobedience in Tanjore. 15 - 1 - 1924.

At a meeting of mirasadars of the Tanjore District, held on Saterday last, it was resolved to adopt a policy of civil Disobedience, or passive resistence towards the resettlement demands. In other words, the majority of the mirasdars present at the meeting we can not believe that they were anything but a minority of the mirasadars of the District have decided, temporarily at least, that it is perfectly just that, in proportion of their resources, they should contribute less to the revenue of the Province than their fellow citizens in other Districts. The question of the resettlement of Tanjore was threshed out in the Legislative council during its recent meeting and no convincing case was made out for the mirasadars. Had not political jealousies and Party feeling been at work, their plea for the post movement of the resettlement demands would, we feel sure, have been for more heavily defeated than it was. Having been defeated, the mirasadars are toying with the revolutionary idea of forcing government to accede to their demands by the adoption of a practice which has never yet succeeded in any country where ithas been adopted, and is not likely to succeed where the issue is no selfish as in this case. We can not congratulate the mirasadars on the advisers they have chosen. Enemies of constitutionalism are hardly the kind of men for cultivators, whose whole prosperity is found up with the maintenance of peace and the security of good government, to choose for counsellors and if the mirasidars finally decide to resist Government's demands, they alone will be to blame for whatever dire consequences

may result. Happily there are not wanting signs that the sober element among the mirasadars see the folly of civil disobedience, and the leaven of their influence will, we trust, speedily spread throughout the whole. Lastly we would remind the discontents that the Government they attack in this insistance is not a small cotenie hostile to popular desires, but the majority of the elected representatives of the people who have decided that the action of the executive in effecting the resettlement and increasing the revenue demands was justified.

<u>The way to Swaraj.</u>   21 - 1 - 1924.

According to the Swarajists of the central Provinces, the best way to secure self-government is to force an autocracy upon the country. They would turn the present ministers out of office and conzel the Governor to administer the Transfered Departments himself. They would replace the vote of the elected representatives of the people by the certificate of the head of the administration. And they pretend that they do this in the name of democracy. Is it surprising that they are accused of being politically insincere? As Mr.Sanden pointed out, a Legislature may dismiss a Minister, but the majority Party must we prepared to accept office when it does. The Swaraj Party will neither accept office nor allow others to carry on the administration. It opposes the present Government, and then declares, with curzen affrontery, that it is not its business to suggest an alternative government. We cannot conceive how any same person can take up this stand and believe that he is justified in doing so. Nor do we imagine, will the electors of the Swarajists in the Central Provinces be able to do so after their representatives have held up all administrative progress in the Provinces for some time. The only real satisfaction to be gained out of the present imposses in the Central Provinces is that the Swarajists, by persistence in their present policy, ~~xxx~~ are committing political suicide. Certainly their action will not carry much weight with Parliament, which regards the assumption

of administrative responsibility as obligatory on all majorities; and it is Parliament which the Swarajists have to convince of their capacity to govern fairly and without bias if they would secure for India a further measure of self-government.

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Another Defeat. 29 - 1 - 1924.

The composition of the Bengal Legislative Council being what it is, the defeat of the Government on any contentious question is inevitable. The importance to be attached to the second defeat of that Government on the subject of political prisoners -- for that is what the result of the debate on the demand for the repeal or with drowal of the various preventive sections under which these prisoners are detained amounted to - is consequently greatly diminished. When a Government is confronted for a majority pledged to defeat all measures brought before it, and to oppose every action of that Government, such Government can not hope to secure the passage of its proposals on a majority in defence of its methods. Responsibility does not exist among the elected councillors, it is sacrificed to Party expediency, and the affairs of the Province suffer. How long such conditions can continue without rousing the electorate against the enemies of constitutional principles, or how long the Government will be able to carry on under such conditions remains to be seen. At present, the Bengal Legislativ e council presents the most telling example of the evil of conferring power to criticise without the corollary responsibility of justifying the criticism passed.

It is evident from the speeches on the subject of political prisoners last week and from the summary of the proceedings of Monday's meeting that the Swarajists and those who vote with them are not prepared to help in fighting the criminal revolutionary movement now rampant is Bengal nor do they openly dissociate themselves from this movement. - the existence of which their leader

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from this movement - the existence of which their leader admits. They content themselves with passing votes of censure on the methods adopted by the Government - the only methods that have hitherto been successful and the efficiency of which is admitted by the revolutionaries themselves in fact, Mr.C.R.Das practically admits that repressive legislation is necessary, but objects to the existing legislation being used, not so much because it is being used wrongly or unjustly - but because it was not passed by a popularly responsible assembly. In other words Mr.C.R.Das and those who support his proposals had their way, criminal revolutionary activity would be allowedto run rife in Bengal until such time as Parliament has remind the Indian Reforms Act, further election had been held in India, now a new council had been elected on a broader franchise. Meanwhile, he would wink of the terrorising of the people by the revolutionaries, would allow unchecked the perpetration of political dacoities, with alltheir accompaniments of murder, arson, and outrage,and make Bengal a bell on earth for law abiding and peace loving citizens. For Mr.Das does not say, as he should say, to the bengal Government. He does not do that because it is not a political move that would add to his popularity among his followers. If he had a real interest of his country of heart it is a proposal which he would have made before he led his forces against the Government.

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The only way. 30-1-1924.

If Indians thought that they ever could get self-government by violence they were mistaken." In thus speaking, Major Graham Pole, Secretary of the Indian Parliamentary committee and one of the brightest intellects of the Labour Party, was not referring merely to the violence of the criminal revolutionary. He included in his warning those others who seekly violence of expression and the misuse of power to wreck the constitution. The labour party has always prided itself on being a constitutional Party and its present position is evidence of the wisdom of its policy. Had the leaders of the Party yielded to the clamour of its more extreme sections, had the revolutionary socialists within its ranks, and they are not a few, been able to turn the Party from its constitutional courses into the way of direct action the way favoured so largely, but so little understood, in India today the Labour Party would not now be in office. The evolutionary sabalish has succeeded where the revolutionary would have inevitably failed. So it will be in India. The evolutionary politician, the man who does not believe in mind leaps in the dark, but prefers as does Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald, to advance step by step, keeping the ultimate goal of self-government in view, but always making sure that the next step will lead towards that goal and not into the abyss of internal strife and chaos, is the man who ultimately achieves power.

What is it that India requires of the labour px party? Immediate Swaraj, say the swarajists, but they do not define the meaning of Swaraj", nor do they make any attempt to make clear the steps to be taken in giving it. Major Graham Role was voicing not merely Labour opinion but

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all pro-Indian politicians. What do you mean by complete self-government?" What are you going to do with it when you get it?" "Have you solved the caste or the Hindu-Muslim problem?" "Have you got a scheme for an army in India?" "Have you any scheme for the Indian states?" "By that steps do you want to attain complete self-government? These are questions which, save for a few very vague generalities and wild and unmeaning allusions to an Indian Federal Republic, no Indian leader has yet attempted to answer. Yet it must be obvious even to the most myopic of politicians that such questions will have to be answered by a would be self-governing country. Nobody denies that the present Indian constitution has defects. Its principal feature, diarchy has been adversely criticised ever since it first saw the light, and even its sponsars never really pretended that it could be defended. It was a temporary expedient to help Indians during a time of transition. It has not succeeded because it conferred power without responsibility and led to ~~fixxion~~ friction in the administration and extravagant expectations in the councils. The Indian constitution is defective too, because it does not sufficiently protect the interests of the 60 millions of depressed classes in India, because it gives disproportionate power to the educated minority, and because it has not brought into existence, and at present shows no signs of bringing into existence, that wide and enlightened electorate which provides the only basis on which a liberal and truly responsible form of government can be built. But the way to improve the constitution is not to destroy it but to point out its shortcomings and suggest remedies. This, therefore, is the task of Indian politicians who are sincerely anxious for the progress of their country. They will

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have a splendid opportunity next week at Delhi to show the Labour Party how they realise both their duty and their opportunity. We are afraid, however, that if, precedent counts for anything, the Assembly debates will produce little other than florid rhetoric and pompous demands which will help no one.

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Mr.Gandhi released. 5 - 2 - 1924.

The expected has happened. Mr.Gandhi has been released. And the release has come through the proper chancells. Those who vented their indignation on the viceroy because he made no mention of a pardon for Mr.Gandhi will now have to admit that the Viceroy took the proper cause. The arrest, prosecution, and imprisonment of Mr.Gandhi were not the affair of the Central Government. The Bombay Government were responsible and the order for his release rightly comes from that Government. That Mr.Gandhi would be released after his illness was generally foreseen., though only the Extremists indulged in wild and intemperate harangues when the release was not announced just at the moment they expected it. As it is, the Government of Bombay have very effectually discomfited the would be attackers of the Viceroy in the Assembly. They have been robbed of their thunder and the messed on slaught planned to take place in the Legislative Assembly to day is defeated in advance. That the extremists will claim the release as a victory for their bombastic methods goes without saying, but the masses of India are now so accustomed to the oratorical outpourings of a Party whose every word is a scream that few will head their claims. In releasing Mr.Gandhi, the Government of Bombay have acted humanly. They have done what any body of feeling men would done. It now remains for Mr.Gandhi and his followers to repay consideration with wisdom.

For it cannot be disguised that Mr.Gandhi free represents a real problem and a possible menace to the

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peace of India. Like all idealists who refuse to consider the facts of every day life, he can be a source of real danger to the ordered government of and to the security of the individual in this country. A little less than two years ago, writing on the receipt in Madras of the news of his arrest, he said "Mr.Gandhi, on the ever of his arrest, revealed his own misgivings regarding this policy (of civil Disobedience). He says: The more I think over our future programme and the more news I get about the spirit of violence that has silently, but surely, crept into our ranks, the more convinced I am that even individual civil disobedience would be wrong'". Just after his operation Mr.Gandhi is reported to have said that his political opinions are unchanged. This may be so, but he will find that the spirit of violence which he deplored has greatly increased its hold on his followers. He will find an unparalleled violence in speech commonly indulged in by Extremist leaders and the gospel of physical violence sedilously cultivated among the rank and file. He will find in Bengal a wide spread criminal revolutionary movement whose avowed object is the killing of Government officers, Indian and European alike, and which finances itself by means of the most brutal dacoities. He will find his followers busy destroying the liberty of all who do not fall in with their views. What will he do? Will be appeal for sobriety of thought, speech, and action or will he, taking his one from the inflammatory utterances of the Ali Brothers, add fud to the fire which threaters sooner or later to envelope India? Mr.Gandhi has been generously treated may we not look for goodwill and understanding in return? We are encouraged to believe that we may by the

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steadfastness with which he refused to give political messages- pace the Mohomed Ali fiction while in jail. It showed an honesty of purpose in Mr.Gandhi which will, we trust, lead him to refuse to approve of the destructive course now favoured in Extremist and Swarajist circles.

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Conference or Enquiry. 21 - 2 - 1924.

According to a Reuter message the Independent Labour Party, of which Mr.Ramsway Mac Donald is a leading member, has issued a statement asking the Government to call a conference of representatives of parties in India with regard to the acceleration of full self-government. Now we know why Lord Oliver's statement was postponed. The Labour Government finds it difficult to make up its mind on the steps which ought to be taken in regard to the Assembly's demand. It is true that the Independent Labour Party does not control the Government. It is also true that its members from less than a third of the total number of Labour members ~~from the than xxthxx~~ in Parliament, but that third is an exceedingly active third, and in Mr.Richard Walihead, their chairman, they possess a powerful Parliamentary fighter who will work hard for the acceptance of his Party's news. The question therefore arises, will the labour Government accept the Independent Labour Party's suggestion, which follows in the main the lines of the Assembly majority's demand or will they adhere to the policy outlined by Sir Malcolm Hailey, who announced in unambiguous terms that he was voicing the view of His Majesty's Government, that a full investigation of any defects or difficulties which may have arisen in the working of the transitional constitution now in force must precede any amendment of the constitution. It merely insists that an adequate inquiry should precede such amendment. On the latter point the Government of India preserves an open mind.

Reuter's message today suggests that the labour Government may yet decide to divide the inquiry into ~~two sections. They may decide that the~~

two sections. They may decide that the Government of India's inquiry into the working of the existing Reforms Act should proceed pari passu with the deliberations of a representative all-India conference, in which all parties, all communities, large and small, should take part on the desirability and feasibility of accelerating the progress of India towards full self-government. It may be, on the other hand that the Labour Government will decide that the Government of India's inquiry should first be concluded and on the basis of its results a representative conference discuss the best methods of advancing constitutional progress. The position is so vague and the effect of the present uncertainity so grave that it is to be sincerely hoped that nothing will happen to delay Lord Oliver's statement beyond next Tuesday.

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No Unity. 28 - 2 - 1924.

Lord Oliver's succinct summing up of the differences in the ideals of those who pretend to speak on behalf of India in regard to constitutional reform deserves to be seriously considered. It is an aspect of the agitation in this country which no political leader willingly faces. The Swarajists pretend to accept the leadership of Mr.Gandhi while persuing a policy in direct defiance of his antimodernist doctrines. Indian communists exploit the Swarajist party to further aims that are as directly opposed to those of their tool, as are the aims of the latter from those of Mr.Gandhi. It is true that they are all united in their cry for the removal of British control, but beyond that they do not go. But the Home Government, what ever its political complexion, can not be satisfied with just clamour for self-government. They must look beyond. They must insist that they know what are the intentions of the clamourers once self-government is granted. They must know whether the principle governing the new constitution is to be that of Mr.Gandhi, a benevolent despotism, that of the Swarajists, a bourgeoisi oligarchy, on that of the communists, a Bolshemik tyranny. They must know these things because ~~and~~ once power is handed over, it can not be reassumed. The step will have been taken, and the interests of 300,000,000 people, 298,000,000 of than without a vote and, therefore, without a voice in determining the character of the government, will have been handed over to the care of others.

Parliament wants to know, and rightly, what will be the political character of these others, are they

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capable of assuming so grave and so terrible a responsibility? And it must be said that so far Parliament has not been informed. The irresponsible character of much that has taken and is taking place in the legislatures in India can not encourage the view that those representatives are equal to so grave a burden. Refusal to accept office by majorities, un-reasoning opposition to official proposals, the passing of resolutions which the movers, know can not be accepted, the promotion of civic indiscipline, wilful misrepresentation of official action, and innuendos suggesting, as is being done in the case of the Jaito affair, that the government are indifferent to the lives of citizens and wilfully provoke conflict, these things do not encourage a belief that those who do them are fit to bear the heavy responsibility of governing India we have little faith in National conferences in India.

Their "unanimous" resolutions disguise a wide divergence of views and aims. They can not be taken to be what they pretend to be. Consequently. We are not enamoured of the proposal to hold a National convention to frame a constitution. As we have pointed out before, it is a proposal based on false analogies, since the cases of Australia and Africa, quoted as parallel bear no resemblence whatever to the case of India. What India needs is not a conglomeration of conflicting views presented in the guise of a national demand, but the emergence of political parties with clear outviews so that Parliament will know should it decide to extend the constitution, just the kind of control it would be handing India over to. At present it does not know this, it can not know it. It only knows that the most vocifarous Party is itself

fragmented, that it is a Party which teaches and practises civic indiscipline, which encourages its followers to refuse to recognise lawful authority, and which is in this way laying up a store of trouble for whatever government may follow the British.

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Sordid Disclosures. 7 - 3 - 1924.

No more powerful agreement in favour of the immediate appointment of a civil service commission in India would be found than that contained in the disclosures made by Dr.Natesan in the Legislative council yesterday. The lurid light which these disclosures shed on the working of the non-Brahmins Party in the matter of official oppointments shows how timely the appointment of the staff selection Board was, and how undesirable it is that the making of appointments should be retained in Party hands. Dr.Natesan admits that he made a claim for the commissionership of the corporation of Madras and adds that the Rajah of Panalgal complains that he (Dr.Natesan) often asked for favours for others and not for himself. He further adds that he asked for appointments for a number of friends of the Party And, be assured the council, be not infrequently got what he wanted. It is a sondid story, and a sad commentary on the manner in which the public services were regarded by prominent political leaders in Madras. Not the best man for the job, but the best man for the Party seens to have been the basis of the making of appointments under the guise of securing adequate representation of communities, political jobbery of the most undesirable character was indulged in. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good and the tax payers of Madras, anxious to secure full value for their money and the effecient running of their departments, will welcome the changes which have already taken place in the making of appointements to the public services and will lookforward

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to the further changes which must now inevitably follow the disclosures resulting from this squable between politicians.

Dr.Natesan sought to draw a parallel between his desire for appointment as commissioner of the corporation of Madras and any other person's desire for a Ministership. There is, however, no parallel whatever, The Ministership is confessedly and purposely a Party post in the gift of the Party. The Commissionership of the Corporation is an executive position the holder of which is expected to be impartial in his work and aloof from Party politics. If he do not, then the work of the corporation must suffer and the interests of certain classes of tax payers be neglected we have no fault to find with Party politicians, members of a majority, who aspire to a Ministership. It is a legitimate ambition, but to employ the same political influence to secure a purely executive post is quite another affair, and highly questionable. We have no desire to favour either of the potagonists in yesterday's sorbid affair, but we do insist that it is the duty of responsible political leaders, whether in power or in opposition, to assist in keeping appointments of the public services free from all taint of political influence or graft.

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Where Extremism Leads. 10 - 3 - 1924.

By their pigheaded and absured policy of wholesale rejection the Swarajists in the Central Provinces have compelled the Governor of the Provinces to take over the administration of the Transfered Departments. The Reforms Act makes ample provision for such a contingency, and the Rules framed under that Act make it clear that no obstruction in the Legislature is to be allowed to interfere with the good Government of a Province. Not only is it provided that the Governor shall carry on the administration of Transfered Departments, but authority is given to the Governor, in case of emergency, such as has arisen as a result of the Swarajists' action, to authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the carrying on of any department. The Swarajists' attempt to hold up the administration is, therefore, defeated in advance. All that they can do, and are doing, is to deprive their constituents, and the great masses of the people who are at present voteless, of an effective voice in the administration of the Province and, what is more important, of such further boons as the financial position of the Government may permit to be introduced. A message from Delhi tells us that the Swarajists in the Legislative Assembly intend to follow the same made cause as has been adopted by their fellow Extremists in the Central Provinces. If the Independents follow them in their folly, Indian politicians will have proclaimed to the world in no uncertain terms their lack of responsibility and their total anability to appreciate the true meaning of democracy. That Parliament will thus be bullied into yielding to the

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Swarajists' demandsx we do not for a moment believe. Parliament, and Labour especially, asks for a proof of readiness to accept responsibility and a real desire to Co-operate. The Swarajists refuse responsibility and declive to co-operate.

Jobs for communities. 24 - 3 - 1924.

We are glad to have the assurance contained in a remark made by the Hon.Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer in the Legislative council on Saturday that efficiency is not lost sight of in the pursuit of the secondary objective of ensuring due representation of communities in the Government service. This communal job-hunting is one of the most distasteful, phases of the opening stages of the Reforms period. We do not deny that it is produced by a very natural desire on the part of communities to see themselves represented in such service, but the satisfaction of natural desires is not always conducieve to the social good, and we would have government place the social good, the common welfare, first in all things. It is for this reason that we regret the announcement also made by Hon' the law member that the scope of the activities of the staff selection Board is very limited and that it really has little to do with the making of appointments to posts such as those about which there has been no much discussion in the Legislative council this year. We had believed, and hoped that the Staff Selection Board was designed to lift these appointments from the sultry atmosphere of communal controversy but apparently we were mistaken. There is, therefore, all the greater need for the early appointment of a Public Services commission for the examination and selection of Government employees of all grades, and it is a great satisfaction to find that members of the Legislative council take the same view. That the dangers of the present hunt for jobs for communities are not insignificant is apparent from a message which we have received from Tanjore announcing, that the District Board there has passed a resolution requesting the President to appoint only non-Brahmins to vacancies in the board's

service. The primary desirability of ensuring sufficiency seems to have been entirely lost sight of, to say nothing of the evil of embittering an intellectual community by completely boycotting it. The Tanjore District Board's action savours very much of seeking to right one wrong by another equally grievous.

Labour Party and India. 26 - 3 - 1924.

A Reuter's message says that the Labour Party is seriously concerned by the news of political unrest in India and have invited Sir Sankaran Nair to confer with them. Their choice of an adviser is not unwise. Sir Sankaran Nair is at once an ardent advocate of self government for India and a strong constitutionalist, entirely opposed to the subversive tactics of the Swarajists. He will be able to tell the labour party the right value to attack to the demonstrations now being made in the Legislatures. At the same time we hope that Sir Sankaran Nair will impress upon the labour government the importance of precision and care in their public utterances in regard to India. No single utterance of any importance on that Government's policy towards India has reached this country in a satisfactory form. The latest explanation is no exception to the rule. The most recent pronouncement by the under Secretary of state for India does not serve to enlighten us greatly. True he has made it plain that the present government does not consider itself bound by the decision of Parliament in 1919 on the subject of constitutional advance in India, but his inaudible reply to Sir Joynson Hickr's question whether the present Government were considering the alteration of the previous Government's decision, interpreted by Renter to mean that the government does not contemplate any alteration, only leaves the position even more unsatisfactory. Either Professor Richards will have to speak more clearly or the Government will have to give Reuter a written, explanation of what he meant to say. The present situation

with its recurring doub s, cannot help to allay the unrest in this country or conduce to an understanding of the Labour Government's real intentions, on the countrary, it breads discontent in India and distrust of all British intentions.

Truth will out.   3 - 4 - 1924.

Given time enough, the Swarajists may be trusted to betray themselves writing on Monday we referred to the low cunning with which the Swarajists hoped to make political capital by proviking the governor general and provincial Governors to employ their powers of certification. We pointed out that neither the country's weal nor political principles decided their action, but a most unworthy political opportunism. It is possible to sympathise with an obstructive policy when adopted by ardent patriots willing to shoulder the responsibility of their actions. Many Englishmen sympathised with the obstructive tacties of the old Trish Home Rule Party in the House of commons because both men and Party were prepared to bear the penalty of their action. They may have been thought foolish and wrongheaded, but few questioned the sincerity of their purpose. But none of these noble qualities actuate the Swarajists. They gamble with loaded dice. They play their sorbid game recklessly, confident in the knowledge that however disastrous its results, the constitution safeguards them from the payment of any penalty. As Sir Mal colm Hairley pointed out in the Assenbly, they are not compelled to pay the price of their folly, a somewhat too prudent Parliament has protected him. And so far they have striven to hide their ulterior motives. But Lord Lython's threat to make the Bengal Swarajists bear the full responsibility for their subversive tactics is compelling Swarajists generally to disclose the real state of their mind. Thus we find the Hindu' a stalwart supporter of Swarajist obstruction saying, with reference to the reported intention of the Government of Bengal to dismiss 1,200 public servants. We do not think Lord Lytton can act so easily as that; for he has to consult the directions in the instrument of instructions

in regard to t e interests of the services." In other words, this Swarajist journal considers that the Governor of Bengal is bound to ignore the votes of the Swarajists in the Bengal Council because the terms under which he has appointed Governor compel him to do so and having thus revealed the machianeltian character of swarajist politics, our contemporary has the audacity to assert that Lord Lytton will have to demonstrate that he was acting bonafide in carrying out the wishes of the council. In other words, having insimated ~~the~~ Lord Lytton is debarred by his Instructions from carrying out the Councils wishes compliance with which is the last thing the Swarajists desire - the Hindu' declares that if he does seek to carryout those wishes, His Excellency must justify his action. Whatever he does, Lord Lytton will be wrong and most wrong, says the Swarajist advocate, when he takes the Swarajists at their xxxx word as expressed in their voting. It is an interesting revelation of the working of the Swarajist mind. What matters if xxxxxxx we reject these demands, the Governor is bound to restore them; no evil can therefore result from our action; and we can go back to the ignorant constitutencies, who do not know the inner working of our mind, nor the text of the Reforms. Act nor that of the Instrument of Instructions, and portrary the certification as a gross piece of despotism and a refusal to lead popular opinion. "Thus run the Swarajist thoughts as revealed by their writings and action. The electorate, illiterate, perhaps, but blessed with no tittle commonsense, will not, we are confident, long be fooled by such Machianellis.

Those who pay. 5-5-1924.

Who pays the price of Swarajism in practice. In Bengal we saw that the greater part of the cost was borne by those who could least afford to pay, non-gozetted officers, subordinate establishments, and that deserving public to whose ills and wants these employees gave their attention. In Assam, as a message, published today shows, the same class are compelled to bear the bunden of the Swarajists anti-social policy. During the recent Assam budget debate, the council rejected or reduced various demands of these rejections or reductions the governor has accepted fine, and in four instances non-gazetted or subordinate officers are affected. This is inequitable. The rights of gazetted officers are safeguard by the instrument of their appointment and no council is impowered to rob them of their livelihood. This is as it should be. In no country where constitutional practice obtains are gezetted public servants the shport of legislatures. In no other country than India would it be possible, we imagine, for a legislature to decide lightly on proposals which involve the dismissal of large numbers of government servants without compensation or prospect of future employment That the Swarajists lightly embark on methods which involve such sacrifices of loyal public servants proves how anarchic are their principles and how inconsiderate their methods.

We do not argue that Government should retain staffs for whose employment there is no valid reason, nor do we contend that men once employed by a government have a right to continued employment by that government. It would be absurd to insist that coolies and maistries employed on building a bridge for government have every

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claim to continue in government service after the bridge is finished. But none of the officials and establishment who are being dismissed in Bengal or Assam fall into the ranks of such workers. Men, women, and children in Bengal will not cease to fall ill because the Swarajists in the Bengal Legislative council have decided that less money should be spent on sub-assistant Forgeons. The result of the Swarajist policy in Bengal will be unemployment for many useful public servants and menial establishments and much avoidable suffering for those who can least afford or withstand ill health, the poorer numbers of the public. Yet the Swarajists claim that it is in the interests of these people that they are acting. A curious political doctrine this which pretends to benefit a people by making them suffer unnecessarily. In Assam, the result of the Swarajist policy is the dismissal of four superintendents of grazing and their establishment. These men, presumably, for the details of their duties are not at the moment at hand, were concerned with the conservation of grazzing grounds. Is it seriously contended that this work is unnecessary? We doubt it. True the Indian ryot is no lower grazing restrictions, yet even he is not slow to realise that unrestricted grazing and uncared for grazing grounds mean the ultimate distruction of all grazing facilities. The Assam court of words is, as a result of Budget refusals, lose the softening influence of a lady assistant, and chankridans and panchayats are to be deprived of rewards. Petty economics these, yet they are in tune with the general Swarajist policy of destruction; those politicians

would rather destroy the public spirit which rewards foster than utilise rewards to promote the public welfare. And lastly, as a result of swarajist action, certain engineers in the Assam Government service will be deprived of certain allowances enjoyed by their fellows appointed direct by the Secretary of State. Thus on the imitative and at the demand of Indian representatives in the Assam Legislature, there is being introduced into the Assam engineering cadre that differentiation of remuneration as regards Indian and Home appointed officers against which Indian patriots have never ceased to wage war in the past.

What is the purpose of this policy of pin-pricks? The Swarajists declare that they are out to spread discontent among the people. They are going the right way to rouse discontent among Government servants. But we doubt whether that discontent will bear the fruit they hope for. It is their intention to turn the bitterness they are creating against the Government But surely they must think all men are fools and that Government employees are the biggest fools of all other wise they would not pursue a policy which is deliberately calculated to ~~perplex~~ deprive Government servants of employment, and the public of necessary service and yet think that the sufferers are so lacking in intelligence as not to learn the real cause of their grave loss. If the Government and the constitutionalists do their duty in ~~kam~~ making known to the people the genesis of such

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discharges. The various communiques already published go some way in this direction but hardly for enough - the Swarajists will find that discontent is a dangerous flame to fan.

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one would dismiss the ordinary fulminations of the Extremists in the Assembly. The position of the Swarajists in the Assembly and their unscrupulous bargain with the so called Independents makes it imperative that all who would save the Assembly from a disastrous step should give careful thought to the position the proposal creates. It is not impossible that the Swarajists will seek to drive a bargain with those who favour a tariff on Indian steel and the adoption of other protective measures. They may say, and probably will say, "Vote for our boycott resolution and we will support your protective tariff proposals". And keen protectionists, relying, as did the Swarajists in their voting on the Finance Bill, on the powers of the viceroy to refuse to accept submissive resolutions, may sell their vote for the Swarajists' support The experience of Madras in the matter of Assembly decisions on Provincial contributions makes it clear that expediency not infrequently out weighs principles in deciding the casting of votes in the Assembly. We trust, however that the majority of the Assembly members will see how grave are the issues involved, and decline to approve a resolution, the passing of which must inevitably be regarded by the whole Empire as a deliberate affront, and can not conduce to that good-will which is so necessary for the removal of the grievances of Indians abroad. In this matter every responsible elector has a duty. He should make it clear to his representative in the Assembly that he disapproves of such boycott proposals and that he regards it as the duty of his Member to oppose them. No member dare ignore opinions so plainly expressed, and the Assembly will thus be saved from accepting a

proppsaxl proposal which not only runs counter to its own previous declaration that India reserves the right to purchase her requirements in any of the world's markets, but must necessarily be productive of results harmful to the best interests of the country.

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Towards the light. 16 - 5 - 1924.

Constitutionalism in Indian politics is being vindicated in the most unexpected quarters. Mr.Gandhi as will be seen from an article which we publish today, opposes the boycott of British goods and thus expresses his antogonism to the resolution which the Swarajists propose to more in the Assembly this month. The real motive of this resolution is as apparent to Mr.Gandhi as it is to anyone else, who is not wilfully blind to swarajist spitefulness. It is not the good of India which the Swarajists seek to advance by this boycott. Mr.Gandhi proves that from the Swarajists' own words. They desire the satisfaction of their own hatreds, the indulgence of a vengeful spirit totally opposed to the promotion of that good will and mutual understanding between the British and Indian people which is so necessary for the progress of India towards Swaraj. The Swarajists may retort, and with some degree of justification, that their boycott proposals are but the development of Mr.Gandhi's own earlier proposals to boycott certain British goods, and his former impassioned denunciations of what he was pleased to call the exploitation of India by the British. This, however, will not weaken the force of his criticism of their present policy. And we may leave them to settle their own differences with him. It is enough for us that Mr.Gandhi now sees the evils of this boycott propoganda and has very timely thrown the weight of his influence against it.

There is another indication of the coming of the light of reason into the hate darkened minds of

Extremists politicians in India. Mr.C.R.Das has definitely announced the abandonment of non-co-operation in the Councils as a practicable policy. His confession of its failure to achieve an ything defenite appeare d last week in the editional columns of his own journal and was followed by a suggestion that the swarajists should devote themselves to the capturing of the existing institutions. It is to this conviction, presumably, that we owe the Swarajist activities in municipal and local board elections. But Mr.Das goes further, he has visions of co-operation with the very bureaucracy which he has hitherto abused and condemned. He says: "The capture of the institutions does not altogether eliminate the contact and the possibility of co-operation between the Britisher and the Indian........India may yet see.........her own children working shoulder to shoulder with Englishmen for her good". while we welcome his return to political sanity, a return which brings the swarajists back to practically the same political platform as that consistently held by the constitutionalists, whom the swarajists have roundly and, as their own action now shows, unjustly abused, we are justified in asking what can have brought about the change? Does Mr.C.R.Das regret that he refused to form the Bengal Ministry? Does he now realise that he lost a golden opportunity of showing the people what his Party could do? It seems like it. It may be that his warning popularity, and the difficulty of convincing the electorate of the value of a negative policy have shown him that obstruction is in the end more fatal to the Party that employs it than to the object it is employed

against. It only remains for the swarajists to give further evidence of returning political sanity by following Mr.Gandhi's advice and abandoning the provocate boycott of Empire goods proposal. Then the way will be cleared for constructive political discussions in India.

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Gandhi and Das. 20 - 5 - 1924.

How much longer will the Swarajists and the No changers maintain the pretence that they are two wings of the same Party, the Congress Party? By soshistory, they may be able to pretend to a unity which no longer exists, but by so doing they will further undermine popular belief in their sincerety. The negotiatious between Mr.C.R.Das and Mr.Gandhi have failed, as they were faredoomed to fail. The aims and policy of the two man are irreconcilable. Mr.Das is inspired by a virulent race hatred, that venom taints all his political utterances. He wants to possess in order to destroy to enter councils and capture local self-governing boards that he may enjoy the pleasure of harassing those entrusted with the administration of the country. His creed is purely destructive. It implies suffering for others, so be it. It inflames passions and excites greed, so be it. The Swarajist creed demands it, Let such things be. Mr.Gandhi has since his illness, shown a greater readiness to concede good in his adversaries. He no longer, be it noted, abuses capitalists or denounces the works of the mills. He still despises the Reforms Act, but the despises still move the actions of man who scheme and plot, as do the Swarajists, to criticise the boons and privileges of that act in order to destroy its efficiency. Between such men there can be no common standpoint. Mr.Gandhi and his followers must either break with Mr.Das and his or sacrifice principles to expediency. At present Mr.Gandhi has postponed his decisinn, but such postponement can not be indefinite. Indeed he suggests this in his attitude. He will not help the Das'bloc', nor will, he conduct active propaganda against them for the time being." That saying

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clause devotes a limit to the concession. Circumstances will force one or the other of the disagreeing leaders to forsake his present policy or seperate foces. And when they part, who will retain con rol of the congress? The answer, we think, is already apparent. Mr.Gandhi will be sacrifices by men who are hess scrupulous about principles than he now is.

Still Undivided   23 - 5 - 1924.

"An honest and fundamental difference in principle divides the Swarajists from Mr.Gandhi, and his non-co-operation followers, and all attempts to diminish it have failed." That is the verdict contained in the statements issued by Swarajist leaders and Mr.Gamdhi, reports of which we publish to day. What then, will the two sections ~~xxx~~ separate? No, the Mockery of Union is to be maintained, despite the fundamental differences, in order that the congress may remain to all appearances undivided. Such is political honesty in Extremist circles. One good result has come of the negotiations. We at least have learnt something of what the Swarajist Policy actually is Mr.Gandhi stands where he has stood for years now a confirmed believer in the spinning wheel as the motive power of India's advancement, and in the volve of non-co-operation complete and absolute. A dreamer still, his policy is highly visionary and extremely impracticable. It is this that makes the swarajists prefer their own methods. Throwing out the budget, abstructing new laws, and hampering the administration as far as possible remain the swarajists principal aims in the legislature. They try to discover a less objectionable name for a purely destructive policy but without success, and they are compelled to leave it to their friends to accomplish. Such remaining will be no easy task. But there is one new feature added to their policy. They are no longer going to refuse to serve on every committee when such is possible. Their new slogan is capture everything". Politically speaking it is a very practicable slogan if the Party using it is inspired by worthy aims. But a Party of obstruction, which only seeks to capture in order to hamper or destroy, is hardly the party which should be permitted by the electorates to capture

everything, and we trust the electors will bear the Party's aim in mind. There is, of course, one influence which should not be overlooked. A local Swarajist contemporary is found of saying that "Labour in office is, of course, a different thing from labour in opposition, meaning thereby to suggest that what Labour in opposition advocates, Labour in office ignores. Responsibility is the explanation of the change, and Swarajists in office will find, as they are finding in Calcutta, that the precepts of the platform need modification when in office.

Muslims and Swaraj. 26 - 5 - 1924.

Many Muslims, we believe, will be disappointed at the turn which the proceedings of the adjourned session of the All India Muslim League took on Saturday. It was hoped that the meeting, after registering its desire for swaraj and its expectations of further progress, would have devoted itself to matters affecting the betterment of the Muslim community. If the report speak truly, it did nothing of this kind. It spent much time discussing whether in the central and Provincial legislatures of a selfgoverning India the representation of minorities should go by the number of heads only or they be given representation in excess of numbers in order to assure them an affective work in the affairs of the country. It is an important subject admittedly, specially important to the Muslim community, which, throughout the greater part of India, is in a minority. Unfortunately, it was discussed for the most part by Muslims resident in areas where Muslims are in the majority and the proceedings reveal more an anxiety on their part to retain their majority in the legislatures than to secure for the minorities effective representation. Moreover, the question is necessarily an intricate one, not best dealt with in the heated atmosphere xxx of a League meeting. What safeguard does the resolution now adopted offer Muslims. It provides that the basis of representation in the Legislatives and in all other elected bodies shall be population provided that the minorities shall have edquate and effective representation in all elected bodies in every Provinces, subject however, to the essential proviso, that no majority shall be reduced to a minority, or even to xxxxx equality.

In other words, the numbers of the minorities' representatives must be so arranged as to ensure permanence of control to the majority community.x It is impossible to understand such a resolution except as a desire on the part of Muslims in certain Provinces to retain suprove control over the administration. Its effect, of course, is to give other majorities in other Provinces similar nontrol, to reduce minorities to perpetral dependence on the majorities and, in the end, to divide India up into a number of States in which the dominance of one community is for ever assured. Yet we find that passionate pleas for Hindu-Muslimx Unity were uttered at this meeting. How can there be unity between a perpetur minorities and a perpetual majority? But most disappointing of all was the endorsement of the policy of obstruction contained in the President's speech. We suggest that Madras Muslims should point out other problems in the North that neither by perpetuating majorities nor by obstruction in the legislatives can the true interests of Muslims in India best be served. only by more real attention to education, by constitutional political propaganda, and by promoting cooperation not domination among communities will Muslims, and India at large, be advantaged.

Reforming the Reforms. 30-5-1924.

An obviously inspired message from Simla published today states that it is expected that the majority on the new committee of Inquiry into the Reforms will be a non-official majority, that the non-officials will be a chosen mainly from the Central Legislatures, but that Provincial opinion will also be represented. Due regard is to be paid, too, to the representation of important communities. At other times we would have expected a chorms of approval from the Press in India of this decision. The appointment of a non-official majority would have been bailed as an act of states manship and justice to India. And such it is. But we hardly dare to expect any such recognition of a generous policy in these days. Nothing short of complete surrender to the demands of the Extremist Press would induce it to recognise that some good thing can come out of Simla. We are even tempted to doubt whether, in view of the stream of calunny which has been poured on the Indian members of the lee commission since the publication of its report, in view of the scurrilous suggestion, unworthy of any Indian and undenia ble proof of the unfitness of those Indians who make accept it, that these Indian Members sold India's interests for personal gain, we are, we repeat, tempted to doubt whether any non official, especially any Indian non-official, will be prepared to serve on the Reforms Inquiry committee. It will require no little courage, if they be men of moderate and sober opinion, to face the attacks on their personal probity which will inevitably follow the publication of their findings. Yet if they be not men of sober and moderate opinion, anxious to do the best for

India without yielding to extreme claims from whichever quarter they come they will be of little value on the committee. They will take to it preconceived opinions and will hand their efforts, but to discovering evidence in support of a judgement already framed. It will be no easy task on the part of the Government of India to choose this committee rightly. They must, it is presumed give representation to the bigger parties and the bigger communities, yet if the committee is to work successfullyxxxmust it must contain as many openminded members as possible. And he would be a bold man who would say that the majority in the Legislative Assembly possesses men whose opinions in regard to the working of the Reforms and the other phases of the committees inquiry are not already formed, we trust it will do its best to make its inquiry as broad and as impartial as possible, and when its work is finished we hope the sense of a task well done will sustain it against all attacks upon its honesty.

"Gandhi must go" 3-6-1924.

However much Swarajists and non-co-operations in other Provinces may strive to be cloud the issue, the Swarajists in the Central Provinces, where there is a Swarajist Majority in the Legislative council, make no attempt to be little the importance of Mr.Gandhi's pronouncements on the vital differences between Swarajism and non.co-operation. "Swarajists", says their leader, "are now driven to concentrate all they can on the most painful task of breaking Mr.Gandhi's hold on the congress". In other words, Gandhi 'must go' such a movement is inevitable. As the Central Provinces Swarajist leader rightly declares, Mr.Gandhi's references to Swarajism are a declaration of war. "It is extremely painful", says Dr.Moonji" to note that a fratricidal struggle in the congress is now inevitable."That is plain speaking. And it is truth. Those who shirk the issue are doing good neither to the congress nor to Indian politics. Fratricide implies the death of someone, and in Dr.Moonjis xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx sense it means the death of Mr.Gandhi in so far as the congress is concerned, or, of Dr.Moonji and the Swarajists generally, should the non-co-operation Party prove the more powerful. We have, however, little doubt about the result of the conflict. As Dr.Moonji says, the congress of today is inclined to find Mr.Gandhi's politics too narrow and exclusive. The majority of congress leaders repeat today the attacks on Mr.Gandhi's policy, the arguments against it, that constitutionalists framed when the non-co-operation Party first captured congress. The tide has turned. Experience is a ruthless teacher, and the Swarajists have learnt that in the world of today life is not governed by the laws customs of pre-historic eyes,

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Colleges and Universities have supplanted the pial school as the ideal of eudcation the Central Legislature and the Provincial councils have replaced the village panchayats as the power in men's lives. The nation is being welded together, the greater interests of the whole are relegating the smaller themes of the village to their rightful place. And the swarajists as they realise this, realise, too, that nations do not grow in stature on a diet of spinning wheels, non does Khaddar unite peoples. They are learning state creft, and with it the importance of constitutional methods, and in so doing they are approximating their own ways to those constitutional methods they have hitherto condemned. They do not find the process easy. They have, for instance, declined to serve on the Reforms committee, but they are progressing and unless they suffer a serious and to them fatal relapse, the departure of Mr.Gandhi from the congress will see its return to ways that are one in keeping with the creatine intertions of its founders.

Communal Electorates to stay. 5-6-1924.

Lord Oliver seems to have made much in Parliament of the fact that but one of the many Indians who had spoken with him had raised or mentioned the question of communal representation of course. Mr.Satyamurthi would not have mentioned it had it not been that his own particular little schemes have been frustrated by the solidity of the non-Brahmin majority in South India. Indians who go to England seeking to advance sefl-government in India dare no raise the undesirability of communal representation. They are committed to it. The swarajists are, most of all, bound by promises to preserve communal representation they are, bu implication if not in fact, bound to see that such representation is extended. Quite recently the Mohomedan half of the Swarajist Party voted for the perpetuation of communal representation and, what is far more pernicious and undemocratic, for the perpetuation of communal majorities. Lord Oliver apparently does not know anything about this- Hence his naine assertion that he had not been approached by Indians on the subject. Did he find time to read the Indian Press, as he should, be would find that even his pious expression of the opinion that communal electorates are undemocratic has caused quite a serious flutter in the Swarajist cockpit. They want communal representation. Hindu Swarajists have a compact with their Muslim fellows which guarantees it. And if any class has opposed it as undemocratic, it is that class to which Lord Oliver is inclined to pay very little attention, the European in India who has lived long enough in the country to see that communal representation must result in the perpetuation of communal majorities and keep minorities in a state of dependence upon the goodwill of their more powerful and

more numerous fellows. Communal representation of minorities is accepted by them as a necessary evil pending the education of the masses in their political privileges and rights, but the swarajists, especially the powerful Muslim section of the Party, would maintain it for ever. It is well, perhaps, that the Labour Government should recognise its defects, it is equally well that they should see that it is at present ~~xn~~ ~~xnx~~ inevitable if the smaller minorities are to be represented at all, but it is wrong to think that the swarajists oppose it.

The Optimist.

9-6-1924.

Lord Willingdon is optimistic about India. The pessiminism regarding this country which he found existing in England is, he said, in the course of his speech of the dinner welcoming him Home, a report of which we publish today, extraordinary and a poor compliment to those who had held positions of responsibility in India. This is true, but we are inclined to think that the greatest pessimists about India are those who, having held positions of responsibility in India, think now they are no longer here to guide its administration, that the country is going to the dogs. Such has ever been the opinion of retired old age of youth at the helm. Lord Willingdon has not yet attained and probably never will attain, the arm chair of the pessimist. But his optimism is a conditioned optimism. The future good relations of India and the Empire will be assured not by a policy of standing still, not by fixing dates for steps and periods of apprenticeship, but by the abandonment by Great Britain of the policy of concession and by importing into British policy generosity, imagination, and wide sympathy with the aims and aspirations of Indians in the future. That is the policy of wise statesmanship. Lord Willingdon would ever have Parliament do what all statesmen must do at times, takes risks in order to give Indians responsibility. It is no small risk for a nation greatly to widen its franchise, yet Great Britain has done it several times in recent years. And the step has invariably been justified. Lord Willingdon would have responsibility placed in greater measure on Indians in order that they may learn to administer their own country.

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It is a wise policy. In the past, by adopting a foolish policy of non-co-operation, many Indians refuse to take advantage of the opportunities for learning administration which the Reforms Act offered him, they refused, too, to shoulder the responsibilities which that Act placed on every enfranchised Indian. To-day, however, that attitude is giving way to one of closer co-operation in the administration, and though the Swarajists avow that they are out wreck the Reforms, even they are finding that the Reforms are too solid to be wrecked and that the best way to gain their end is to exploit the opportunities which the Act offers. Lord Willingdon had in mind doubt less, provincial autonomy as an early possibility in certain parts of India. His Lordship believes that Madras is fit for Provincial autonomy, and his suggestion that further responsibility be conferred undoubtedly had reference to the giving of greater responsibility in Provincial affairs. Lord Willingdon has clearly no patience with those who counsel delay, either in giving the services that relief and security which they deserve, or in bestowing further responsibility on Indians. Yet this ardent friend of Indian aspirations was the object of most surrilous Press attacks before he left India. He is now leaping coals of fire upon the heads of his maligners.

Have no real confidence"   12 - 6 - 1924.

A memorandum, prepared as the basis of a united demand for self-government for India by the various Indian delegations in London, says. "The signatories are convinced that the people of India have no real confidence that Great Britain will, in the near future, give effect to her declared intention of establishing Dominion Have Rule in India and that the present unrest will rightly continue until such Home rule shall be established". It is the kind of ommibus statement which such deputationists usually make. The vest majority of the people of India, for whom they claim to speak are practically voiceless. They have expressed no opinion are way or the other in regard to the question of Home Rule. Many of them are too busy striving to secure recognition of their just tittle to the ordinary rights and privileges of human beings to be concerned about securing self government for India. Many millions of the people of India" have no real confidence" in the justice and impartiality of those who are at present the leaders in the cry for immediate self-government, or almost immediate self-government. They fear the tyranny of the castes, and they have good ground for their fears. This would not have been the case had the moment for social reform is India proceeded paripassu with that for self-government. social reform, however, is not popular in this country. Politicians will spend many hours, many days even, discussing proposals to compel the British Government to grant further reforms or to coeree the Government of India to agree with their views, but a few minutes suffices to dispose of a social welfare proposal, and those who speak loudest of selfgovernment

will not lift a little finger to help establish a baby welcome centre or to facilitate the admission of non-castes into caste schools.

It is true th t the memorialists urge that adequate provision should be made for the effective protection of minorities, but how is this to be achieved? What protection can a minority enjoy against a permanent majority such as the Muslim League desires? How can the noncastes compel castemen to do them justice, or non-enfranchised labourers insist on fair play from lawyers, landholders, and capitalists-they are, in this country, every often the same individuals? There can be no protection for minorities against oppression by majorities in a country which does not posses a very wide general franchise. And we know that the majority of those now clamouring for self-government in India are opposed to a great widening of the franchise and to the abolition of special electorates. Their reasons are that the masses are illiterate. But even an illiterate electorate may be expected to know its wants better than those who now claim to interpret those wants for it. And, moreover, though an illiterate electorate might be exploited once or twice, it could not be repeatedly exploited to its own detriment. The worm would turn sooner or later. But with (electric?) franchise and indirect representation, such as certain politicians in India favour, the worm would always be ground under the heed of the majorities and have no chance to turn. It is because so many millions in India have no real confidence in the present claimants for political power and little

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faith in their professions of goodwill that the British Government hesitate to hasten India undully on the road to self-government.

With the memorialists claim for autonomy for the Provinces we have every sympathy. We do not think that the Provinces should be longer lied to the afron stings of the Central Government. Such a position results in manifest unfairness to Provinces like own own far removed from Simla or Delhi, or less able than others to make the power of the parse fell in the loan department of the Government of India. But we can not agree with the anology which the memorialists draw between India and the American colony and the just Free state. Both the latter were homogenous communities, united for the most part in their struggle. Those who say that India today is equally united deceive themselves and would deceive others. The daily news disapproves them, scenes such as Calcutta has witnessed this week disprone them, as does the recurring strife between Muslims and H+ndus. We do not stress these things in a desire to appose the claim for further consitutional progress in India. Such progress and further concessions by the British Government are inevitable but they should be wisely ordered and soberly considered. The memorialists suggestion that a Royal commission be sent to India to inquire into the possibility of further constitutional development is a sound one provided that the memorialists are prepared to abide by the findings of the commission. "Home Rule as quickly as possible", the memorialists own claim,

is very different thing from immediate Home Rule, and it is hardly fair to accuse the British people of bad faith because they place a different interpretation on as quickly as possible" to that of the memorialists. Threats and taunts are bad advocates.

Evicting Gandhi. 16 - 6 - 1924.

"Gandhi has failed" such is the theme of a long letter which Mr.S.Srinivasa Iyangar has been provoked to write by the recent declaration of Mr.Gandhi when the constitutional Press, the Madras Mail' included, declared that the Gandhi scheme was so impracticable that its failure was inevitable, no abuse was too harsh for our scepticism. And today we are justified by our attackers. It is a wonderful world, the Extremist political world of India. It contains more political Protean artistes, capable of speaking as plausibly in one guise as in that directly opposed to it, than any other we have heard of. And Madras, of course, possesses a very large share of such artistes. If we believe Mr.S.Srinivasa Iyengar there is hardly a sound plank in Mr.Gandhi's politicial platform. Yet the present swarajists accepted that platform and defended it for years. The charka and handloom Khadi are good, but have no direct and decisive swaraj value in themselves. And when Mr.Gandhi urges that all members of the executive of the congress, whose creed is based on the charka, are asked by Mr.Gandhi to prove their bona fides by spinning a certain quantity of yarn monthly. Mr. Iyengar laughs and says, thought in different words, "Go away Yours kidding". He says of Mr.Gandhi's stipulation. I may be wrong, but I believe it to be a delicious sally of his characteristic playful humour. "The picketing prohibition stunt is, according to Mr.Iyengar, doomed to failure; like wise national education, the triple boycott, the removal of untouchability and the other planks of the Gandhi programme. So, says this Swarajist leader, join the swarajists,

and don't britter away your energies an y longer in the main hope of the congress laying down an all round programme mone/ direct, dynamic, and practical than the programme for which Mr.Gandhi has definitely declared. In other words," Put Gandhi on the shelf, he is a back number". What a change in a few weeks? What a contrast between this belittering of Gandhi's work and the effusive oratious with which his release from prison were greeted? And yet the Madras Mail foretold it all. And we foretell, with equal confidence in the ultimate justification of our forecast, that the Swarajists will more and more approximate their position to that of the older constitutional parties, because we feel certain that the Swarajist leaders know that only thus can swaraj be won.

"Unity", a Farce.   28 - 6 - 1924.

Once again the farce "Unity", is being played in congress circles. The presentation this time is being made at Ahmedabad, and the Chief role of Unifier is being filled by Mohomed Ali. His reading of the character lacks conviction, as indeed it must since he is himself charged with provoking discard. Nor is his most powerful speech calculated to override the influence of his past utterances. To tell the audience in the congress committee camp that they will be playing into the hands of the country's enemies if they do not arrive at an understanding and let the Swarajists remain in the Congress may serve to induce some to play the part of charms in the great farce, but it will not convince the country at large. There is a growing demand for honesty in politics throughout the country, and a patched up reconciliation of diametrically opposing policies is the reverse of honesty. It is fraud, born of expediency and created to deceive the Indian nation and the people of Great Britain. For once, we find ourselves in accord with Mr.C.Rajagopalachari. He does not think, that any compromise between the Das and the Gandhi parties is possible. It is not, if both parties honestly abide by their avowed policies. It is but a few days since Mr.Gandhi himself emphasised the impossibility of such a reconciliation. Is he to recent in order to pacify Mr.C.R.Das and his follower? He may do, we have seen strange bed companions in th e congress before today, bedfellows quite as ill matched as Mr.Das and Mr.Gandhi, and they have kicked one another

under the congress quilt with no less vigour because, in the interests of the success of the Unity farce, they have shouted together the Party cry "Unity ". If Mr.Gandhi and Mr.Das decide to follow their predecessors' example, we shall not be surprised, but they will have signed their own political death warrant. The Indian masses put up with much from those who claim to be their leaders, but there is a limit to even their simple mindedness, and deliberate deceivers sooner or later attain the nirvana of political obscurity.

The second act in the farce was a little changed this time. The promoters sought to secure the continuity of its performance by getting ruled, out of order" the proposals of Mr.Gandhi. Fearful last the present popularity of this political star may ruin their play, they sought to queer his pitch by pointing out that he can not dictate to congress delegates constituents the character of their representatives. They wilfully ignored the fact that unless Mr.Gandhi persisted in moving his resolutions, he could not retain his reputation for political honesty among the common people. They asked Mr.Gandhi to sell his political soul in order that they may keep up the hollow farce of a United congress. For if the resolutions were disallowed on a point of order, Mr.Gandhi had no option, on his own recent showing, but to leave the congress and form his own political organisation. We give Mr.Das and his fellow Swarajists credit for sufficient commonsense to be able to see this. We go further, we believe that the Swarajists are deliberately working to turn

Mr.Gandhi out of the congress but do not wish it to appear that they are doing so. If this were not their policy, why the devious device of a technical objection to vital resolutions? Either the congress is committed, to its own creed or it is not. There can be no middle course, and to evade a decision deceives nobody. The Swarajists have decided that Mr.Gandhi must go. The Swarajist leader in the Central Provinces, more straightforward than his contem poraries in Bengal, has declared war on Mr.Gandhi with no uncertain voice. But the Swarajists shrink a straight fight. They prefer to discredit Mr.Gandhi by making him appear untrue to his own word and they will have succeeded should the non-co-operation leader be, seduced into a compromise which belies his own declarations.

For the ordinary constitutionally minded individual in India these demonstrations of the Extremist preference for show and dis regard of principles are very instructive. No sacrifice is considered too great, no device too devious, provided the semblance of unity can be maintained. It is as if the Bolshemiks and the Izarists were members of one political body and sought to conceal the antagonism of their policies by shouting together. We are comrades the while they sought to slaughter one another. But what can India expect from leaders so blind to the claims of honesty in political life, what sort of legislators will this congress creed of expediency before truth produce? It takes no great amount of imagination to xxxxxx foresee. ~~The Swarajist Party has already given~~

The Swaraj st Party has already given evidence of its character. The "Unity above principles" congress produces "Unity above principles" legislators. It is any wonder that the congress is ceasing to be come a power in the life of India?

Pretended Unity. 1 - 7 - 1924.

"The coming few months will show the deadly effect of this compromise". Thus comments a local Swarajist contemporary upon the hollow farce" played, at Ahmedabad during the past weak end. And we entirely agree. The coming few months will indeed show the deadly effect of this compromise . It will reduce the influence of both Extremist parties, that of the No-changers perhaps more than that of the Swarajist, but diminish them it assuredly will. The Indian people will not find the bargaining over principles which went on at Ahmedabad to their taste....---------But the most pertinent comment upon the proceedings at Ahmedabad comes from a Madras Extremist, Mr.S.Srinivasa Iyanger. He says frankly that he does not know where the congress now stands. He endorses our view that the rescinding of the penal clause from Mr.Gandhi's first resolution practically nullified its effect, and the third resolution was rendered un-intelligible. Any party may interpret in any way it pleases, and justify its action, by the resolution. "The resolutions", says Mr.Srinivasa Iyengar, "Have afforded for their standing points for more quarrels" They have shown, he adds, that the No-changers are not so strong as they appeared to be. In other words, Mr.Gandhi's influence is warning. It will not take much of this kind of talk to convince any people that they had better not pay much heed to Mr.Gandhi and his foolish ideas. The Swarajist thinks Mr.Srinivasa Iyengar, are the people to support, and adds that he is going to join them. He suggests though, that Mr.Gandhi may also join in due course. He tells us that Mr.Gandhi is thinking about a new Party formula which apparently is to make

no mention of boycotts. Mr.C.R.Das may well say that Ahomedabad represents a net Swarajist gain.

What intrigues us greatly is Mr.Iyengar's declaration of the Swarajists policy of all obstruction, but, apparently a quaint mixture of co-operation and obstruction. Good political trenchermen as they are, the Swarajists are not likely to be long content with the mixture in its present proportions, and we may safely anticipate a gradual increase in the quality of co-operation and a diminution in that of obstruction. All this is to the good so far as India is concerned. Belgaum will, we think, reveal the steady movement of the congress from the Gandhi creed towards that of pure constitutionalism. It will not be openly made. It will be comoufloged by an apparent irreconciliation. It will be obscured by the passing of resolutions like that at Seraganj and in this connection it is interesting to see how pleased Mr.Das is with the 70 delegates who voted for his homage to a murderer amendment, but the movement will be made. And in the end, the split now temporarily marked by a compromise which convinces nobody and which Extremists themselves cannot understand, will become unconcealable, and once more the congress will be riven in twain. Such will be the deadly effect of the compromise to which our contemporary so unexpectedly alludes.

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Unity made manifest. 7 - 7 - 1924.

"Forward", whose authority to speak on Swarajist matters none would impeach since its adition is the Swarajist leader, reports that at a meeting of the Burra Bazaar congress committee on Saturday evening there was a free fight between the No.Changers and the Swarajists, the result of the refusal of the Swarajists to leave the hall when asked to do so. There is something strangely methodical about the way in which the ground was prepared for the fight. The doors were shut, the lights were put out, and then in the darkness, committee men presumably struck at what ever head was nearest. Apparently the Swarajists were in the minority, because they seem to have got the worst of the fight though our "Scrupulously acurate and impartial" contemporary naturally fails to ~~mxxxxxx~~mention whether any of the No-changers were injured. The incident is a significant commentary upon the Unity' which was supposed to have been achieved at Ahmedabad, and, too, upon the nature of the 'non violence' which is supposed to be the guidy principle of congress affairs. As we expected, Mr.Gandhi's pitiful description of his fedings on the day of his humiliation and defeat at Ahmedabad has awakened feelings of anger in many of his followers. They apparently do not believe that the need of non violence is satisfying when one considers revenge, and those on the Buna Bazaar committee evidently resolved, to drive the swarajists out of the congress by force if other means were unsuccessful. Had the Swarajists been wise they would have gone out when asked to do so, but wisdom is not an asset of the majority of Swarajists, and those on the Bura Bazaar committee are clearly among

~~those on the Buna Bazaar committee are clearly among~~ the majority But the lesson for India afforded by the incident is that no share unity can last, and that the Congress "Unity" is essentially a shame. Men united in a cause do not spend their time breaking one another's heads.

Rioting at Delhi.

12 - 7 - 1924.

Once more Delhi has been the scene of riots ~~into~~ inter-Communal strife. These repeated out breaks show how little control the socalled leaders of the people have over the masses. During the height of the non-co-operation campaign of indiscipline we emphasised the danger to society, the menace to peace and order, of the continual preaching of disobedience of lawful authority. We were decried as alarmists, but events are justifying our warnings. The spirit of unmost, of disorder, and of tyranny, so sedulously fostered by those who alleged that their object was the attainment of self-government in India - as though self-government can be, won through abandoning self-control is now manifesting itself in intercommunal riots and the braking of heads. It is, afterall, but a step from preventing free citizens from exercising their common rights to coercing a community by lathies and arms into submission to another's dictums. Delhi, where so many notorious preachers of civil disobedience and revillus of authority have held forth, is naturally the worst centre of disorder. And the police whose authority largely depends upon popular respect for the majesty of the law, can not, since that respect has been wilfully destroyed, prevent the outbreaks.

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Under the Blight. 14 - 7 - 1924.

We could not imagine anything more likely to stimulate in the Beraris a desire to become subjects of the Nizaam than a continuance of the domination of the central Provinces Legislative council by the Swarajists. As the address presented by the Malkapur Municipality to the Berares who desire nothing better than the full utilisation of the Reforms. In their address they stated:- "We attach very great importance to the new Government of India Act, which we regard as a great stepping stone towards the attainment of complete self government for India. We assure your excellency of our hearty co-operation in making the new reforms a success". That is the voice of the people of Berar. But they suffer because at the last election a ramping tearing campaign of intimidation and misrepresentation brought about the election of a majority of Swarajists to the Provincial legislature. Sir Frank Sly, in his reply, showed how seriously the interests of the people suffer as a result of Swarajist obstruction. The people of Malkapur desire help with the improvement of their water works, they would see a High School located in their district, and enjoy other advantages to obtain which Government help is needed. But the Government cannot give them that help. The Swarajists have killed self government in the Legislature. By refusing to pass the Budget and vote salaries to Ministers, they have placed all the transfered, that is all the nation-building, departments under the blight of absolute stagnation. No policy of development can be framed, no new schools opened, no municipality assisted in the construction of new works. The Governor may provide for the carrying on the work of the departments

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He can not inaugurate or authorise new schemes requiring new expenditure. The central provinces today present the tragic picture of acountry where a few people, by a policy of obstruction whose aim is solely destruction, have arrested all development. The millions suffer because the tens abuse their power. And this condition must continue so long as the Swarajs party continues its present policy or enjoys a majority in the Legislative council. The people of our Presidency are being urged these days, to give power into the hands of the Swarajists. We urge all who possess a vote to study the situation in Berar, observe how men, women, and children go thirsty how education id denied to children in order that the swarajist Party many satisfy its great for the sensational and demonstrate its power, a power given to it by the very Act which, it pretends, gives the Indian people nothing.

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Lord Oliver, Fabian. 23 - 7 - 1924.

................As regards the position in Bengal and the Central Provinces, Lord Oliver made the important announcement that the Viceroy and the Governors of those Provinces were now considering whether the Governors should exercise power to suspend or remoke the transfer of subjects. The Secretary of State is of opinion that it is a perfectly reasonable construction of the Government of India Act that the Governor might Act in such a matter. This is wider reading of the emergency power given to Governors of Provinces than that hitherto accepted, but it can, as Lord Oliver says, he included in scope of the section of the Reforms act which gives the Governor the power to authorise such expenditure as may be in his opinion necessary for the safety or tranquility of the Province or for the carrying on and any department. If the deadlock in Bengal and the central Provinces continue, it seems probable, therefore, that the transfered departments will be declared to be reserved subjects. The result, of course, will be the abrogation temporarily of the transfer of responsibility to the elected representatives of the people. So far as these Provinces are concerned and the electors there in might well ask themselves what they have gained as a result of their representatives obstructive tactics.

How Lord Oliver squares his remarks about Mr.C.R.Das with his views of the situation in Bengal passes our comprehensions. Does he think that the policy of threat is one which should be approved? He suggests that Mr.Das's "murder" resolution was in the nature of an attempt to intimidate the people of Great Britain. Yet he pays the man who attempted the intimidation a tribute Das Lord Oliver think

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that the methods of frightfulness are justified in India? His party, we know, would condemn than heartily if they were employed by any political Party in England. He cannot approve them. He says that Mr.Das and his associates were under the delution that Indian revolutionaries could frighten the British Government out of their senses by bombing policemen. Nor can it be said that he approves of the policy of Mr.Das in the council. He is reported to have emphasised the futility of those methods. What then does Lord Oliver approve in Mr.Das? Not his pergnacity, for Lord Oliver reveals more of this quality himself. And yet it is possible that Lord Oliver who seems in capable of a definite statement on any subject, is like the puny weakling who stares in amazement and admiration at the daring of men who, reckless of counsequences, dare anything.

Lastly Lord Oliver does not say no constitutional advance, is contemplated, nod does he say that proposals to this end will not be considered. Like the true Fabian, he evades the issue, and following the example of a former premier, he says "wait and see".

A Sober Policy. 29 - 7 - 1924.

A ray of light from the Punjab pierces the dismal gloom of Indian politics. A new political party called the Punjab National unionist Party, has been formed in the Punjab Legislative council whose creed will be the working out of the salvation of the Motherland through the agency of the Reforms Scheme". This is the first article of a political platform which combines sober commonsense with an ardent nationalism. It differs from that of the Extremist Parties in that it proposes to tread the path which all other peoples have trodden in their progress towards full self government. It recognises the freedom of the individual. There is no fatrous stipulation that every member shall perform a certain amount of spinning every day, as though men were like spiders. It avoids the tyranny of the caucus over the individual, which all such stipulations imply. And the new party's programme opposes the working policy of the Swarajists. It has weighed that policy in the balance and found it wanting, since it strengthens that power of the bureaucracy which all true nationalists must desire to weaken. The Reforms scheme definitely provides for the weakening of the bureaucracy. It prograssively transfers power from the official to the elector. It transfers, too, authority from an irremovable council to a removable ministry. But the swarajists will have none of it, at least they would not untill very recently. But experience in the Councils is proving the the swarajists as to others that the Reforms scheme does transfer the very real power to the elected representatives of the people and the Swarajists are abandoning their resolve to have none of it and now propose to exploit it. They may yet end by adopting the policy of

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~~of~~ the new party in the Punjab.

This part declares that it stands for full self government and provincial antonomy at as early ~~as~~ a date as possible. So do we, so does every Real friend of India. The new Party aims at developing all parts of the body politic, helping all backward classes, irrespective of caste and creed, thus ensuring that national development which prevents the rule of one class or one creed over another". These are wise aims. Properly persued they will do more to consolidate the peoples of India into one great nation than generations of spinning, of weaving, of Extremist intimidation, or of obstruction. The founders of the new party have realised that nations like houses must have firm foundations before a super structure, if they are to last.

And the best foundation for a nation is a people united in a love of freedom, a nation in which each individual revolts against all forms of tyranny, social political, ecclesiastical. The Extremists do not work on these lines. They would impose their will on the masses. "The world for the intelligentsia" is their war cry. They seek dominion, not universal freedom. They cannot run their own party without attempting to intimidate its members. Freedom and intimidation are antogonistic. The boycott of opponents, the picketting of taverns and of shops where foreign cloth is sold, and the more insidious forms of social tyranny practised towards those who do not bow the knee to Extremist damogogues, these do not make for freedom. They aim at inshrining an oligarchy, an oligarchy of men who applaud the motives of murderers, who fear to attack social

evil, and hamper those who are working for the uplift of the multitude. The Punjab has seen many evil days, the Province has lately produced unhappy movements, but it reveals its innate sanity by giving birth to a political party which, if it but hold fast to its present creed, will serve as a model to all who desire to advance India's cause by personal service in the realm of politics.

"Would disappear"--

31 - 7 - 1924.

Many people, we know, view with foreboding the possibility of the advent of a Swarajist majority on our city council. With the example of the activities of the Swarajist majority in the Calcutta corporation before them, their anxiety is justified. But we did not know that the horror of the Swarajists extended to insects. Yet it must be so. We have the words of Mr.S.Satyamurthi as evidence. The gentleman, speaking in one of the local parks, told his audience that under the Swarajists' programme, "mosquitoes would disappear from Madras". He apparently does not appear to have said how or why, but we presume that it will be an act of self denial on the part of the monquitoes. No longer will they bloat themselves out with the blood of properous councilloers or poke their proboscer into places where they are not wanted. They will free as a body from a city where Khaddar has displaced Khaki, where councillors and servants alike spend their leisure at the spinning wheel and their evenings among yarns. Or is it that the city under the Swarajists will be so distasteful that even the mosquitoes will refuse to live in it. This explanation seems very possible in the light of what is happeming in Calcutta, and we are inclined to believe that this was, after all, the explanation which Mr.Satyamurthi failed to give.

Along with the mosquitoes, Mr.G.A.Natesan and the K.C.Desikachari were to be dislodged from the council. Apparently, however, this part of Mr.Satyamurthi's prophecy was speedily to be belied. Yesterday Mr.G.A.Natesan was reelected for the 7th admision unapposed. The Swarajists could not discover a candidate. Yet they made a valient effort to do so. Mr.Satyamurthi himself at one time was spoken of as one of the probables, but his chances were not considered sufficiently

rosy. To ensure that there should be at least some touch of rose about their candidate, the Swarajist next toyed with the idea of putting forward Mr.Singaravely chetty as the champion of the 7th ~~division~~ division unfortunately, however, this rosy nomination could not be made owing to the fact that the proposed candidate's name did not appear in the lists of those eligible. Other efforts liekwise failed, and Mr.Natesan remains in the council. We trust that this is an angury of good for the government of Madras. We have frequent occasion to find fault with the methods of our city council, we have many occasions, unfortunately to criticise members who place personal prejudices before the civic weal, but we would a thousand ~~xx~~ times prefer to keep our council as it is with a few independent men to help to keep the extremists within reason, than to have it dominated by a party whose only capital is reckless promises and extravagence of statement, and which indulges in the most petty tyrannies in the pretended pursuit of national aims.

See what the Swarajists are doing in Calcutta one of their latest decisions is to present addresses to Swarajist leaders, who is to pay for these addresses? The rate payers presumably, and the majority of the rutepayers are, we are convinced, opposed to any such presentation with its consequent waste of public money. If the ratepayers ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ do not oppose this waste of their money - by protesting at public meetings, they must be very poor fish indeed. Another resolution by the same corporation penalises a man who seeks to do his duty to the country in which he lives by joining the Auscillary Force. Corporation officers while on duty with the Force will not be paid any salary. Could anything he move mean, more unpatriotic? And ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

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~~salary. Could anything be more mean, more unpatriotic?~~ And the reason given is that there is diffrentential treatment shown to the Indian Territorials and the members of the Auxiliary Force. If this be true, and it may be questioned, who is responsible for the differentiation.

The Officer of the corporation who joins the Auxiliary Force? Of course not, yet he is to be penalised. He cannot with draw from the Force and is now penalised for a patriotic action which he was doubtless encouraged to take by a former regime. Such is Swarajism in practice, the manifestation of setting spite towards helpless servants, the exploitation of a civil body for the boosting of a party, and the abuse of civic patronage. Madras will, we are convinced, refuse to give such a party domination in its affairs. If men of independence, willing to serve the peoples and refusing to bow the knee to party tyrants, come forward they will, we feel certain, be elected. Calcutta's experience is a warning.

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Ministers on the Reforms. 4 - 8 - 1824.

A comprehensive review of the present constitutional position in India was made by Sir A.P.Patro in his reply to an address presented by the Guntur District Board. The culminating point of his speech resolved itself into an appeal for complete autonomy for these Provinces which, like Madras, have sought wholeheartedly to look the Reformed constitution in the best interests of the country. With many of his remarks it is impossible to agree fully. For instance, he declares that the Legislative council is no longer divided on communal lines. This may well be questioned. There the opposition does contain both Brahmins and non Brahmins, but it is building much out of little to assume from this fact that the communal spirit does not still predominate in the council. It is scarcely right even to postulate the opposition is made up of groups, of which at least one is frankly communal in character, and another communal in spirit if not in avowal. The nature of the resolutions and questions put forward, and the predominating. character of the majority of the divisions, prove that the communal element still rules in the council, and is likely to continue to do so for some time. At the same time we are prepared to admit that there is some indication of a tendency to give the minority more of a hearing than it enjoyed in the last council, but to assert that the non-Brahmin majority is at present prepared to abandon caste as the basis of political programmes is to deny the facts. There is, it is well-known, less cohesion in the non-Brahmin Party than before. The evil influence of patronage has made itself apparent, as we fore-shadowed it would, and the various sections of the Party

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have shown themselves not at all satisfied with the division of the spoils. But this does not lessen the fundamental character of the Party, and so long as the Party remains a non-Brahmin Party, so long will communal differences predominate in the council.

Sir A.P.Petro made much of the fact that 30 percent of the council members are nominated. This may be true, but nomination itself is largely a safeguard against the communal feeling which exists in the Province. Apart from official nominations, necessary under the present constitution, each nomination is made with a view to securing the representation of some minority which could not otherwise hope to obtain it. If it by anything, the emphasis on the large percentage of nominations is a reply to the assertion that communal influences no longer predominate in the council. (?)

One of the arguments advanced in favour of local autonomy and the transfer of reserved departments to Ministerial control is the growing difficulty of ensuring unity in the Government. The ministry and the council, Sir A.P.Patro tells us, chafe under the restructions of the present constitution. That many of the restrictions are vexatious to man anxious for greater power and more freedom in control can be readily understood. But it may be questioned whether the Legislative council's method, that of refusing to approve of any financial or texation measury is the best way to secure the removal of the restructions complained of. It has to be admitted, and presumably is admitted, that there is but a limited sum to be spent in the administration of the Province Sir A.P.Patro does not directly say that the amount is at present unfairly divided.

divided. He does complain of the excessive control of the Finance department, but we have heard Executive Councillors making similar complaints. Unless, therefore, the resources of the Government can be increased, and this the Legislative council refuses to allow, the grievances of the Ministers must remain, and with them, the grievances of the Executive councillors. We are no more enamoured of diarchy than is the Ministerial Party. We agree with the Minister that the division of subjects involves an undesirable amount of overlapping and confusion between the two valves of the administration. but we do not think that even under full tolcal autonomy will the Government be able to make ten rupeesmeet needs for which fifteen rupees are required. We have long advocated Provincial autonomy, especially in regard to finance, and shall doubtless continue to advocate it, but we recognise that in any scheme of Provincial autonomy the powers of the Governor must remain such as shall safeguard the interests of minorities, prevent the passing of rash and illbalanced legislation, and ensure the preservation of peace, tranquility, and security both among the people at large and in the services so give, as Sir A.P. Patro would have Parliament give, the Ministers right to decide by a majority, when acting with the Governor, what should be the policy of transferred departments, would be to take away from the minorities a most valuable safeguard. This, we believe, is not desirable so long as communal feeling, predominates in our council, and the majority Party is based on frankly communal lives.

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Revising their policy. 6 - 8 - 1924.

The first item on the agenda of the forth coming Swarajya Party meeting in Calcutta runs as follows:--"To revise the policy, constitution, and programme of the Party": Recent speeches, proposals, and actions by Swarajists indicate that the revised programme will be distinguished from its predecessor by the absence of any reference, to wholesale obstruction M/s C.R.Das, Motilal Nehru, and other Swarajist leaders realise that total obstruction is impracticable if not obsolutely a contradiction in terms. If one is in a council, however vigorously one may protest, one is still of the Council and to the ultimate result inevitably contributes. This sobering thought has apparently accured to every Swarajist protagonist, and they have all, with commendable celerity, begun to ransack the Statute book with a view to amendments in favour of political prisoners, of persons charged with sedition, and of various other individuals who are the objects of their sympathy. All this is but the prelude, we opine, to extending the principle, now adopted in regard to local self-governing bodies, of taking office and assuring responsibility for the administration where ever swarajists possess a majority in the council.

It is probable, however, that the Swarajists will find that the remission of their programme comes too late to enable them to retain popular favour. Many regard the forth coming meeting in Calcutta as a desperate effort to rehabilitate the Party in Bengal, where it has been steadily losing favour. It is, however, an irony of fate that at a time when the Swarajists propose to introduce some degree of sanity into their programme and policy in order to retain their majority in the Bengal Legislative Council, that majority should be in danger. We learn that the fateful

~~majority should be in danger. We learn that the fateful~~ notion of August 26 in Bengal may, as a result of adroit lobbying; end in a verdict against the Swarajists. The Swarajists in the Bengal Council may yet enjoy the fate ~~xxxxxx~~ of their fellows in Bombay, whose most valiant efforts at obstruction have been consistently defeated by a majority which places national and provincial welfare above Party.

The reverses will be good for the Party. Sweet are the uses of adversity". The Swarajists may yet learn in adversity the ~~xxx~~ lessons which a too easily won popularity failed to teach them, namely, that nations like children must walk before they can run, and that in the words of Henry Clay: "Government is a trust, and officers of the Government are trustees, ~~xxx xx~~ and officers of the Government are trustees, and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people". Hitherto the Swarajists have regarded Government very much in the light of a game in which each struggles to gain the greatest advantages for his own particular party or clique. Vituperation and mis-representation may lead to momentary triumphs, may persuade an ignorant and illiterate people to confer their favour on the party which uses them once, or even twice, but the masses as a ~~xxxxxx~~ whole can not be fooled ~~x~~ all the time, and the present anxiety of the Swarajist Party to make their policy a more national and constructive one reveals their recognition of this fact. Their awakening is welcome, for India is weaved of politicians whose only title to notice is the virulence of their utterances and their total lack of constructive ability.

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An Indian Gretiano.
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18 - 8 - 1924.

Judging by his speech in opening the Swarajist Conference in Calcutta, Mr.C.R.Das is well worthy of the tittle of Indians gratiano. He speaks" an infinite deal of nothing "and his reasons are indeed as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff."He spoke at great length on Saturday, but his utterance is noteworthy more for what it does not contains than for what it does. He told dis audience, and India generally that Swaraj, as the Swarajists understand it, is not to be confused with any particular system of government. The Swarajists have no system. Each Swarajist can build what ever system he likes in his own mind, he can point the most glowing picture of government under a swarajist regime and none can say him nay. This absence of a constitutional programme from the Swarajists' platform is very convenient. It enables the Party's Mohomedan supporters to portray to their fellow Muslims a picture of an Indian wherein Mahomedans are the top dogs where Muslims will have all power and will be able to prevent Hindu Muslims riots by the force of authority, of course authority with a Mahomedan bias. Similarly it gives the Hindu Swarajist propagandist the opportunity to convince fellow Hindus that under the Swarajist swaraj, Hindus will be able to control the country, will enjoy the plums of office and the prizes of authority who can contradict them? Who can say that the Swarajist is fabricating who tells the ryots that under the Swarajist's particular brand of government there will be no landcess, no taxes, no famine and no floods, the heavens will be ordered as well as the earth, gold mohuns sufficient to run the country will grow on trees, and that riches will fall like manna from heaven on Government and governed alike. Swaraj, their leader, Mr.C.R.Das tells

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is not to be confused with any particular form of government. The caste man seeking the votes of the out castes many, if he can keep his tongue from sticking too obviously in his check, assure them that under the Swarajists Swaraj, out caste and depressed will enjoy to the full the privileges of the castes, the Brahmin will dine with the sweeper and intermarriage will be the rule. If the out caste and depressed believe him, which is doubtful, who dare say that he is not telling the truth.

The Swarajists have no set ideas about swaraj. It does not suit their purpose to have them, else they would have to explain and defend them. And a settled constitution is of little use as propaganda. Mr.Das would have the Swarajist continue their struggle for power on the principle, the right of Indians to govenn themselves. In other words he would have Indians spend their time flogging a dead horse. That the people of India have the right to govern themselves was conceded by the Queen Empress nearly seventy years ago. Since then Britain's policy in India has been to fit all the people for the enjoyment of that right. We would emphasise that "all" because the Swarajists read the right of Indians to govern themselves as the rifht of the intelligentsia to govern India. Other parties read it as the right of the majority communities to govern the minorities. Such views naturally conflict with the British aim. Hence we find Mr.Das speaking about the destruction of the present system of government of bringing the present government down. Both are objectionable to the swarajists because both strive to secure to all the

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~~the~~ people of India the right to share in the government. The Swarajists avoid framing a constitution because they lack the courage to say definitely how they will apportion representation have they with preserve the minorities from the ~~xxx~~ tyranny of majorities, how they will safeguard the unlettered masses from exploitation ~~of~~ the intelligentsia.

All these things must be decided by those who would govern India, yet the Swarajists are afraid to deal with them, for dealing with them may cost ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ them notes and momentary support.

Mrs.Dass asserts that the people of India have refused ~~to be~~ the Reforms Act. The truth is that few of them have ever had an opportunity of recognising it. Its enemies have deliberately misrepresented it. They have never tried to explain the act honestly to the people. The vast majority of the Swarajists do not know it themselves. They repeat the misrepresentations and the shibboleths of their leaders, content to be the mouth pieces of others about things which they themselves know little or nothing. Those parties who have worked the Reforms Act have failed to make any sustained effort to make it known to the people on to bring home to the electors the powers and privileges which it conveys. On their side, there has been neglect on the other falsehood. The Reforms Act has neither been accepted nor refused by the people. They are unacquainted with it. But though the Swarajists seek to destroy it they offer nothing in its place for

~~in its place for~~ the Swarajists have no alternative system of Government to offer. Yet their actions tell us what their system will be should they achieve power. It will be a system of tyranny by the majority over the few, by the intelligentsia over the illiterate and by the Swarajist Lirarchy over India.

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Quite Hopeful. 20 - 8 - 1924.

The situation, far from being hopeless, was quite hopeful and I am confident that in more favourable circumstances, the labour Party will try to carryout its pledges to India". This is the opinion of Mr.V.S.S.Sastri, who has lately returned from England. His utterences are in striking contrast to the abuse which the Swarajists and their fellow Extremists pour upon the heads of the labour Party. They speak of betrayal Mr.Sastri speaks confidently of fulfilment. So far as British opinion is concerned he is probably right. But so far as the situation in India is concerned he is far too optimistic. Mr.Sastri thinks that the question of an immediate advance depends upon the Indian members of the Reforms Inquiry committee pressing with one voice the need of meeting the popular demand for complete provincial automony and responsibility in the Central Government. To our mind, however, the question depends on far more factors, than this. It depends very largely upon the attitude of Indian towards Indians, of majorities towards minorities, and on those essentials to which Sir Weslie Wilson alluded in his address to the graduates of the Bombay University convocation. The first ~~convocation~~xxx~~The~~ ~~ess~~ essential to democracy, declared Sir Weslie, was brother hood. "There can be no untouchability in a true democracy". "Democracy knows no distinction of caste", no contempt of manual labour. Yet in India we find such contempt widely prevalent. The goal of most young men is Government service, the division of Government posts is the most serious cause of conflict between communities and castes. These things affect the political atmosphere of the country, they make for jealousy leading to hatred, for contempt

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leading to tyranny, and until they are lessened by the teaching of the true democracy by political leaders, most of whom are now intent on grabbing power to themselves, there can be no true democracy in this country. The Labour Party may give more power to the intelligentsia, though we doubt whether the rank and file of labour will agree to handing over the labouring millions of India to the mercies of a party in which capitalists and lawyers predominate, but they can not assure true democracy here until the masses are given fair play, and the depressed classes treated as men and equal fellow-citizens.

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What next?

28 - 8 - 1924.

"Diarchy was killed yesterday, and the council was destroyed to day, was a remark made by the Bengal Swarajist leader after the prorogation of the Bengal Legislative council yesterday Mr.C.R.Das, and those who greeted his remarks with cheers, apparently regard the destruction of the council as a thing to be desired. That they have no proposals, to make regarding a form expressed the public as distinquished from a Party, will disturbs them not to construct. Their attitude regarding constuction work is summed up in the comments of the Party organs. These leave it to the government to say what shall take the place of the councils. The Swarajists have no suggestions to make. What they want is that the Government should set up another form on which they may went their spleen. It matters nothing to them that by their insane actions the people are deprived at a direct voice in the Government of the country. Why should they worry about the electorate. The electorate is a power in their game, and game of securing power for a small and unrepresentative oligarchy. The majority of those who follow Mr.Das's lead in the council have no real idea of where he is leading them. They are his creatures, nominated by his party to serve him not the electors, and they faithfully carryout the task allotted to them. Bengal will not really suffer as a result of the disappearance of a council so dominated. But the cause of constitutional progress in India will suffer by this latest expression of the irresponsibility of an elected majority.

What next? The Governor of Bengal has decided to carry on the transfered departments under the rules governing a temporary vacancy. The narrowness of the majority against the payment of Ministers was such as to justify the opinion that the Swarajists are losing influence

in the council and that the Ministerial vacancies may be regarded as temporary. But whether Lord Lylton chooses to regard the vancies as temporary or permanent, the result of the Swarajist action remains, the people are robbed of an opportunity to take a real share in the administration of the Province. A contemporary calls the action of the Swarajists a constitutional action. We prefer to call it an abuse of constitutional privileges, an abuse such as must bring in its train the operations of safeguards against such abuses. Our contemporary asks whether the government of Bengal will deny the Swarajists further opportunities for abusing their privileges. It foresees, apparently, the possibility of the Bengal Legislative council being prorogued indefinitely, and the obstructive tactics of the Swarajists thus fustrated.

Our contemporary then very obligingly lifts the viel which conceals the real character of the swarajists should the Governor of Bengal take the cause of proraguing the council indefinitely it asks whether, in that case, he is, "pressed to consider undismayed the prospect of an intensification of terrorism which the failure of constitutional methods may not unnaturally give rise to "Who is going to practise this terrorism. The conjunction of our contemporary's remarks, and we are justified in assuming that it does not speak without knowledge, shows that if the swarajists are prevented from pursing their obstructive tactics in the council, they will come out openly on the side of the terrorists, with whose methods the Bengal Swarajists have, as the serangauge resolution shows, much sympathy. And our contemporary regards such a change in methods as not unnatural. It considers apparently, the adoption of terrorism as a political weapon to be natural

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secud to the refusal of the Government of Bengal, the Government of India and His Majesty's government to be bullied into obeying the commands of the Swarajist Party Such is the political morality associated with the Swarajist code. Yet the remarks of our contemporary merely remind us of what experience has taught us. The congress in late years has been captured by extremists with whom terrorism various forms, social boycott, intimidation, and brute force, are regarded as legitimate weapons. In ~~immaginery~~ envisaging the growth of terrorism as the sequel to the failure of the Bengal swarajists to bend the Government to their will, our contemporary is thinking logically That there will be such an increase is extremely probably, and the Swarajists will be responsible for it. It may please the Swarajists to plunge Bengal into a welter of crime, to indulge in political murder and decoity in the hope of accomplishing by terrorism what they cannot achieve by other methods, but we do not believe this to be the pleasure of the people of India. Nor will it succeed in intimidating Parliament to surrender to the tender mercies of the Swarajist oligarchy the millions of India who look to great Britain to assure them peace and security in their daily round and that right and equitable treatment to which they are entitled.

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Whitter?

30 - 8 - 1924.

That we are not alone in asking what will be the next, more or the part of the Swarajists is seen from the comments on the results of the Bengal debate in the Indian and British Press. Nobody believes that matters will remain as they are. The Swarajists, by their own action, have deprived themselves and the people of Bengal of constitutional means of expressing their views on the Government's policy and the people's needs. If the Swarajists leave things in this position they will be committing political suicide. They must go on, and their progress must be from excess to excese. It is in this light, and in this light alone, that any meaning can be read into a local contemporary's remark on "the prospect of an intensification of terrorism which the failure of constitutional methods may not be unnaturally give rise to". The council afforded the Swarajists a most valuable platform for the propagation of their views. That platform they have kicked away from under them. They must find other means of achieving publicity. What more natural, as our contemporary suggests, than violence. Mere possibility will lead nowhere. The Swarajists in the central provinces have disconcered that. Since they brought what a propagation of the central Provinces council they have been undecided, a spent force. The Swarajists of Bengal are in danger of a like fate, of being sent into the outer darkness of public indifference. What will they do to avoid it? The portents are that they will begin a violent political campaign inflaming young minds, thus

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bringing about that "intensification of terrorism" which we regard as most deplorable and most inimical to the true interests of India but which our contemporary regards as "not unnatural", and therefore presumably, not blame worthy.

The Swarajist Plan.

1 - 9 - 1924.

There is an astounding difference between the Swarajist plan and the Swarajist methods. The constitution which Mr.C.R.Das outlined to an interviewer as being that of his party differrs in no important particular from that of all constitutional parties in India. He wants provincial autonomy, so do they, he wants partial control of the central Government by the central legislature, so do they. He does not think that the goal of self-government in India can be achieved in one year, nor ten, non even twenty, nor do they. The more we read Dr,Das's views as outlined by himself in India, and by one in England who has anintimate knowledge of his aims, the more we are convinced that self advertisement is the real motive for the swarajist action. When Extremists claim immediate self-government for India and full Dominion status, and wiser heads reply that it is impossible and inadvisable, that they are called traitors to the interests of India. But Mr.Das, if we may believe his interpreter, is also of the opinion that immediate self-government is impossible. He believes we are told, that it may take 25 or 30 years to achieve his full programme when Mr.Das attacks the British He is, we are assured, merely dissembling his love. He wants India to remain within the British Empire so does every true lover of India but when they assert that the Swarajists methods are antagonistic to this policy, they are howled down as being anti Indians. Mr.Das would have us believe that by wrecking the Bengal Council and by proposing votes of homoage of murderers he was fighting for constitutionalism and against anarchism. We would not controdict him,

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but would merely remark that he has various ways of fighting. To work with might and main to bring constitutional Government into contempt is a queer way of defending constitutionalism against anarchists, but it is Mr.Das8s way.

We fear, however, that he will have much trouble in convincing his followers that he was only dissembling his love of constitutionalism, and that at least he is less against constitutional methods than against anarchy. For he has assailed constitutionalism on every possible occasion and encouraged its antithesis, with the result that he now tells us that there is a much more serious anarchist movement in Bengal than even the authorities realise. It is, he is reported to have said, growing increasingly difficult to suppress it. Why? The answer is simple. It is because Mr.Das and his followers have glorified political murder, have justified political crime by extolling one who committed that crime in its most distardly form. If violence and disorder get the upperhand in Bengal it would be because Mr.Das and his fellows Swarajists have encouraged the youth of that Province, to play with violence and disorder. Mr.Das, having made constitutional methods impossible, now asks - as a contemporary asked recently. what is left to the people of Bengal but violent anarchical revolutionary methods? The similarity in the conclusions of our contemporary and Mr.Das affords an interesting study in the trend of Swarajist thought. It conveys a lesson to Madras, and the rest of India. The sequel to Swarajist agitation, on the

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~~on the~~ Swarajists' own admission, will be violence and disorder. Are the people of India prepared to endorse such agitation and accept its consequencies, Mr. Das has told them what to expect and he is an authority who can not be controdicted.

Discourtesy.

2 - 9 - 1924.

Those who, in view of his unmistakable aversion to and public repudiation of the title, persist in calling Mr.Gandhi Mahatma' are guilty of the greatest dis courtesy. They pretend to pay homage to a man whose express wish they calmly ignore. This was most palpably apparent in certain of our contemporaries yesterday. They printed a report of a meeting at Bombay in which Mr. Gandhi said" courtesy requires that when you go to honour a man, you should conform to his likes and dislikes. But they have discarded this rule, and with Mahatmaji's name upon this lips have done what I dislike. If I could believe that people would follow instructions I would have within again in the papers asking them not to use the application of Mahatmaji' in reference to me. It is a rule, almost a command, in my Ashram not to use that word to me". Yet these journals, followers of Mr.Gandhi and avowed believers in his slightest word, called him"Mahatmaji" in their reports and leading articles. Such is the discourtesy of these so called disciples, such the obedience which Mr.Gandhi today is experiencing the bitterness of extreme disappointment. He finds his policy disregarded, and he cannot even get his wishes respected by those who pretend to worship him. It is easy to understand the reason for the callous disregard by Swarajist and non-co-operation speakers of Mr.Gandhi's desire to remain untitled. The invocation of the name of Mahatma Gandhi wins them the votes of the ignorant in the elections. The Swarajists in Madras, who do not even pay Mr.Gandhi the tribute of accepting his policy, are not above exploiting his name

and the unwanted title in their election campaigns. One has only to attend their meetings and watch their canvassers at work in the contested divisions to see how much use, the Swarajists make of the title. Plain Mr.Gandhi would cut no ice for them what indifferent voter would be inspired by a plain "mister". But give him the title "Mahatma" endow him with almost divine attributes and many among the people will do anything to please him. In Madras we are seeing all the inscrupulous tacties of the palmy days of the non-co-operation movement in use again. Then "Mahtamaji" could do everything, perform miracles, change opponents into pigs, and so forth, any tale which would in press the illiterate and unthinking was coined and in many places with good effect. What care have these politicians for Mr.Gamdhi's wishes. They treat him, as he himself shows, with the grattest discountesy, and leave it to his opponents to honour him by respecting his wish.

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Obsession.

13 - 9 - 1924.

Obsessed with the idea that all that is necessary to secure swaraj for India is to cover up the many discordances among her people under the cloak of a false unity, certain political leaders are sacrificing hither to cherished principles. Mr.Gandhi announces that he will no longer insist upon the triple boycott. In other words he tells the people of India that in future they can go on as they have been going, but instead of meeting with his frown they will enjoy the blessing of his smile. His abandonment of the temple boycott is his sacrifice. It does not effect India, which rejected the boycott long ago. The only sufferer will be Mr.Gandhi. He will suffer as all must suffer who sacrifice cherished principles to political expediency. Such is not the way of great men. To day, we learn on the assurance of "Forward" that Mrs.Besant has promised to accept Mr.Gandh 's quaint franchise for the congress and to spin 2,000 yards of yarn monthly. We are inclained to discredit the report, since Mr.Besant made no mention if it in the interview which we publish today. But if it be true, then Mrs. Besant has also sacrificed principle to expediency. No one has attacked the springing mania more than Mrs.Besant journal "New India". Are we now to see it immitating its extremist contemparies and advertising the amount of yarn which the poor charka faddists have able to turn out? "Forward" talls us of other leaders, who have agreed to spin. What a spectacle for the world. Men and women whose chief title to public attention has been

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a~~ttention has been~~ a fearless stand against the tyranny of a party ~~meek~~ neckly sacrificing their independence at the betreast of a man obsessed with one idea, an idea which they have hither to ridiculed.

<u>"Suggesti Falsi".</u>

17 - 9 - 1924.

Were Mr.Gandhi always to practice what he preaches, the situation in India today would be clearer and men's minds will not be so occupied with fears based on false suggestions. Speaking at the opening of a newpaper office, Mr. Gandhi is reported to have said," Every word and sentence published in the paper should be weighed. There should not only not be any untrue statements, but also no suggesti falsi or suppressio veri", Yet this preacher of high idealism in journalism, who, as he also ~~no suggesto false or suppression~~ tells us, would, if he had his way, become the sole purvayor of information to India, writes in "Young India" in defence of his remark that a Mussalman organisation is at the back of the descration of Hindu Temples, as follows: "Tt has been suggested to me that the organisation might well be from a Government agency. I said that I was not prepared to deny the Government share in these disturbances. I should certainly not be surprised to discover that the directing mind was government agency", If that is not suggesti falsi what is?

Mr,Gandhi admits that he has no evidence to go on for either his charge against the Muslim community or for that against the Government . He is prepared to believe the worst of both. He makes/~~invited leaders of all communities to a conference for the promotion of inter-communal concond. In that telegram it is pointed out that Mr.Gandhi's fast, should it result in his death, far from bringing Hindus and Muslims together, would increase the bitterness between them and add to the probabilities of stife. This is anx ascept of Mr.Gandhi's action which has not received the attention it deserves. We would go~~

accusations and leaves it to the accused to prove their involence. He violates enemy canon of Justice, and inplants into men's minds the most unjustifiable and the most unworthy suspicions. He makes no attempt to excuse his action. And, having planted the seed of syspicion of the Government, having by inference assaigned the very men who have run grave risks in their efforts to prevent and end communal disturbances, he has the effrontery to say! "The business of every well wisher of the country was to condemn the parties who promoted mischief and to leave no stome unturned to stop it". These words come with a queen flavour from a man who has just before sought to undermine politic confidence in those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in India. If Mr.Gandhi continues in this way he will be a match for the most unscrupulous of Extremist propagandists, and far more deadly to peace and security in India.

Vicarious Punishment.

19 - 9 - 1924.

There is nothing particularly novel about Mr.Gandhi's announcement of his intention to fast for 2 years as a penance for Hindu Muslim dissensions. Fasting for the misconduct of others is part of Mr.Gandhi's daily creed, one of his methods of imposing his will on others. (Is part of Mr.Gandhi's daily creed, one of his methods of imposing his will on others.) That it possesses very many elements of tyranny can not be gain said. But tyranny is one of Mr.Gandhi's failings. He seeks to impose his ideals, not to win adherents by permission, as witness his insistance on spinning. Prolonged fasts have been undertaken for many pürposes, and Mr.Gandhi's is not the first to be made with an anowedly political aim. The question to be asked, however, is what purpose will it serve. Will it bring about a temporary truce between Hindus and Muslims. It can not remove the causes of the Hindu Muslim conflicts. These are deep founded on religious differences, differences so profound as to make prolonged peace well-migh impossible, at least till such time as the masses shall have learnt religious tolerance and Mahomedanism shall have lost its militant character.

We Publich today a telegram in which it is stated that Hindu and Muslim leaders have invited leaders of all Communities to a conference for the promotion of inter-communal concord. In that telegram it is pointed out that Mr Gandhi's fast should it result in his death, far from bringing Hindus and Muslims together, would increase the bitterness between them and add to the probabilities of strife. This is an aspect of Mr. Gandhi's action which has not recommend we would go the attention it deserves.

even further than the message and say that by the manner in which his announcement was made, Mr.Gandhi has already increased the tension between the two communities. The rang and file of the Hindus, who~~m~~ do not stop to examine no times will ~~xxxxx~~ blame the Muslims, and the Muslims will retort that the Hindus are the aggressions, and that Mr.Gandhi by his action proves the Hindu blameworthy. A temporary truce may be achieved by appeals to the emotions of both sides, but beneath the surface, there will be a smouldering fire of resentment, which will blaze out as the least provation comments on Mr.Gandhi's fashion the Press have been must exhortatory. For the most part they have appealed to the two communities to shorten the fast by making a mutual pact of peace. Such a pact all would welcome, not least the Government whom Mr.Gandhi so maliciously and unjustly charged with instigating the conflicts between the communities.

Is optimism Justifiable6 27 - 9 - 1924.

Can any lasting good come out of the present conference of Delhi? We confess that we are pessimistic but would be more than glad to be proved wrong in our passimism. But the evidence of the futility of the conference is too abundant to make for optimism. The generis of the conference does not imagine optimism. For the conference was born, as its first resolution shows, more of a desire to save the life of a man who is wilfully placing it in jeopardy, than of a desire to wringpeace between Hindus and Muslims. Morover, the attitude of many of those attending the conference is questionable. One of those present, inspired doubtless by Mr.Gandhi's own insinuation that the riots between the communities are due, in part at least, to Government instigation, wanted the conference to endorse the opinion that such instigation exists. He asked the conference to appoint a committee which should go round the country and counter-attack bureaucratic propaganda". These words bear only one interpretation in this country. The proposer of that resolution desired to commit the conference to the veiw that the Government are responsible for the outbreaks in the suppression of which their own servants are placed in grave danger. The suggestion is dastardly, but the maker of the proposal is not alone in his views. Mr. Gandhi unless his writings are contrary to his convictionary. shares them.

There another reasons for daubiting the effieacy of the conference, besides the palpable bias of many of those attending it. The letter sent by Mrs. Hodghinson of Bombay reveals one, perhaps the most potent. She refers to the non-co-operation leader's

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attempt to alter by a coupd'etal prejudice' and aminity which only years of patient labour and educative effort can hope to effect. How can a conference meeting at Delhi achieve in a few days the work of years. Can such a conference charge men's natures, unbias man's minds, tame men's passions and remove the evil effects of the past years of Khilafat and non-co-operation agitation? Will a conference at Delhi remove from the mines of Muslims the memory of Mr.Ali's remark that his religion demands that he regards the most unworthy of Muslims more highly than the most worthy of Hindus such are the remarks that stick in minds already inflamed by religious passion. And many can be quoted. Mr. Gandhi's fast can not breed toleration in such minds. Mrs.Hodgkinson rightly says that his death, if it result from the fast, would be a tragic failure and would increase instead of ending the strife between the communities. Yet how can the communities learn tolerance from men whose every speech manifests intolerance? Those who believe they can divorce the political from the religions in men's minds deceive themselves. It is impossible. And leaders who, in their political speeches, in their misrepresentations of actions performed in perfect good faith, use the most intemperate of language, ought not to be surprised when their followers transfer to the religious field the same in temperance. Men's lives are not lived in watertight compartments, and violence in politics conduces to violence in religion.

The first resolution passed by the conference is unexceptional in that it restates what is the avowed

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policy of the present constitution of India, namely that there shall exist the utmost freedom of conscience and religion. It also condemns, and rightly, the desecration of places of worship, the persecution of any person for his religious views, and compulsory conversion. These are all very admirable, and they will, we trust, form the basis of an intensive propaganda by leaders of every religious community in India. But those leaders will have a lot to live down. Those who advocated picketing of shops in order to constrain others to wear the garb the advocates favoured or in order to deny to t others the right to satisfy them thrust in any way they wished will find it difficult to teach these same followers the gospel of tolerance. We trust they will succeed. The spectacle of communities flying at one anothers throats because of some religious difference, of men beeing battered because of their faith, is xxgxx repegnant to the British mind and to the British love of freedom as it is contrary to the law which British ideals have brought into existence in India. But we cannot believe that the conference will achieve anything morethan the passing of resolutions unless those present bind themselves to refrain from violence in word and deed, not merely in regard to religions matters, but in regard to pxlitxxl political matters too, and unless they declare that neigher by word nor deed will they deliberately foster in men's minds those suspicions of constitutional authority which, by breeding disrespect for law and order, encourage a belief in the people that not might is right.

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Lord Lytton Explains.

4 3 10 - 1924.

A convencing answer hasb been given by Lord Lytton to those who have asserted that, His Excellency acted premativelу indissolving the Bengal, Legislative Council and assuming charge of the Transfered subjects, There was on other alternative before him. The council had twice rejected the demand for Ministerial salaries. Under the Reforms Act the demand could not be submitted to the council again in the same session and there was no evidence before His Excellency that if it were resubmitted in a new session it would be noted by the council. Some commentators have sought to show that the refusal of the demand was not intended to ~~xxxxxxx~~ show that the council opposed the appointment of Ministers altogether, but that it was opposed to the Ministers already appointed. The reply to this contention is that the council went the wrong way to work. It should have passed the demand and then adopted a note of want of confidence in the chosen Ministers. The reason why this course was not adopted is fairly anxious. The obstructive elements in the council dare not run the risk of dividing the council on a communal issue. The Swarajists desired Mohomedan support. Without it they could accomp plish title.

So they converted a vote of no confidence in the Ministers into a refusal to vote their salaries. They accomplished their end. Two Mahomedan Ministers were thrown out of office, and immediately this was done we saw frantic appeals to the Government to appoint two others. Only one inference can be drawn from such tactics Lord Lytton is right when he contends that it is wrong to arrest that diarchy has been abolished in Bengal.

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It has not. It is in abeyance, and the present emergency, which is wisely being treated as temporary, can be brought to an end by an agreement among those who have been clamouring for the appointment of new Ministers and those who rejected the demand.

Achieving Unity. 9 - 10 - 1924.

While the attention of the nation has been fastened by one of the cleverest political stuts ever initiated upon the doings of one man, and at the moment when that man, in a scene staged by a master producer Hindus and Muslims in Allahabad were flying at one another's throats and peace was only being maintained by the intervention of the forces of that Government which the same man, by a malicious innumends, accused of formating strife, These facts should not be forgotten in the midst of allthe sentimental effusions which are being uttered and printed about Mr.Gandhi's fast. For the inmundo appeared but a few days before that fast was begun. It served to increase the disrespect for law and order which has given birth to the lawless spirit of which we now see evidence of Allahabad when men are taught that the Government is interested in provaking trouble, they are not slow to make trouble themselves. They are not adverse to taking the law into their own hands. An idle report, dismissed in calm days as obsurd, becomes the match which set's men's minds aflame. Murder and assault follows, and communities become fearful, suspicious, and revengeful. No penace can undo the evil work of years of propaganda against public respect for the civil authority, no convention can bring unity into minds filled with hatred.

On what is the present towards unity movement based? Let us look at the character of the meetings which take place in connexion with it. Let us look at the tens of the speakers who are propagating it. The Viceroy and other prominent personages have given this blessings to a real movement towards communal unity,

understanding, and toleration. To theirs we humbly add our own. But we confess that we can not see in the convention at Delhi, nor in any of the meetings held since, any promise of that toleration without which there can be no unity. From beneath many of the speeches and expressions in the Press we see the old hatred of Government peeping out. The old bias is there, and the old tendency, to blame the authorities for everything. There is an air of insincerity about it all. We are reminded of the specious unity which existed at the time of the non-co-operation Khilafat entente. Then there was unity of purpose as exists now, the united desire to make it almost impossible for government to assure peace and security to the people. In none of the resolutions yet passed do we find any indication of a desire to co-operate with the authorities in the preservation of peace. These propagandists of unity affairm their intention to support the authorities in all lawful measures to preserve peace and security in India.

Europeans and Indian Politics. 20 - 10 - 1924.

In the past the attitude of the majority of non-official Europeans to politics in India might have been summoned up in the words of the National Anthem:--

"Confound their politics". They were content to leave things in the hands of the officials, who, be it said to their credit, rearely betrayed the trust. It was difficult even for non-official Europeans to secure any of their number to represent them in the Legislatures. And even in the first year of the new Reformed Councils it was found most difficult to fill the seats allotted to them. The reason was that the majority of Euroepans are in India for a particular purpose. That purpose and the interests of their employers, keep them so fully occupied that they can not share the time to attend the long sessions which the Reformed councils hold. There is in India no leisured class of Europeans with time and money to spare for what has sometimes been termed the game of politics, to whose care the working European might safely leave his interests. The absence of such a class supplies an imperative reason why Europeans in India should interest themselves in the politics of the country. If they prefer games to politics, if they allow business to occupy all their true, the neglect to make any endeavour whatever to understand the trend of political thought in India and the authority undulying the various prominent political movements they must not be surprised if their case goes by default, and the business they have been so engrossed in is adversly affected by the action of politicians often in different to or ignorant of the effect on industry and commerce of the legislation they propose.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the united Planters Association at Bangalore today, Mr.H.L.Pincher referred to the transfer of the head-quarters of the Association to Madras. That transfer was made in order that the Association should be in close touch with the political and commercial movements of the day. It is a further evidence of the greater interest which the planting community is now taking in political movements in India, a recognition of the enormous effect which those movements may have ~~cipron~~ the planting industry. It is a truism that no European in India today can afford to remain aloof from politics. In the central and Provincial Legislatures there are constantly arising questions which touch very nearly industry and commerce of every discription Failure to acquaint oneself with the trend of this legislation may later cause one serious loss. And European opinion to be effective ~~monoble~~ must be organised. There is already in existence an Association which aims at organising non official European opinion, the European Association, has not always been wise in its policy. It has been inclined to ignore modern progressive tendencies. It estranged a sound body of European opinion by the vehemence with which it opposed constitutional development. But associations like individuals grow in wisdom and understanding, and the recent numbers of the Association" Review" have shown that the European Association now has breadth of outlook and soundness of aim. Its aim is the welfare of India. It is not prepared to sacrifice India to ~~Exxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Lencashire or any other shire. It seeks the progress of India on sound lines, steady solid progress such as will conduce to the creation of a great and homogeneous nation. It opposes Extremist claims, the satisfaction of which must adversely affect the interests of the mass millions. It seeks not perpetual British domination, but the maintenance

~~Extremist claims the satisfaction of which must adversely affect the interests of the mass millions. It seeks not perpetual British domination,~~ but the maintenance of the British standards of fair play and efficiency in the administration. In these aims it has, we believe, the condial sympathy of the majority of thoughtful Indians. The Association believes in plain speaking but not in unreasoning obstruction. And it appeals for the support of the non-official Europeans. It should be given that support, and we hope above all it will attract that great body of liberal - minded Europeans who are in constant touch with the people. These should help to keep its views liberal and demacratic, and its aims worthy of India.

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Mendacity Mongers. 25 - 10 - 1924.

Lahore is fortunate in possessing a society, which devotes itself to contracting false remours affecting the public mind. Had India a few more such associations, her political, and religious atmosphere would be far more pure than it now is. Rumours are peculiarly maligrant in their effects in India. Differences of language, the prevailing illiteracy, the isolation of communalism all afford fertile ground in which rumour may produce almost unchecked its evil fruit of estrangement, anxiety, and strife. Sir Malcolm Hailey, in his reply to addresses presented to him at Lahore are, described many of the rumours which from time to time set communities in India in a ferment as" the deliberate creation of that section of the community whose whole existence and subsistance seems to lie in the slave of mendacity", Lying as anart has been developed to a superlative degree among Extremist propagandists. Sir Malcalm Hailey gives a few examples at their productions:, others will readily accur to the reader. Mr.Gandhi's following during the height of the non-co-operation campagin was increased not a little by the reports spread by the more accomplished of Extremist mendacity mongers regarding the miraculous confussion of those who would not accept his freed into pigs. The title so commonly employed in regard to him was accepted by many of the illiterate and unthinking as proof that the rumours and reports of his miraculars doings were true. And the hold thus obtained on the mass mind by lying reports is still employed by those who, at election times, go round the streets calling on electors to vote for Swami Gandhi. Mendacity mongering is a trade which every nation should

class among the prohibited callings. But it is only by the action of enlithtened bodies like the Lahore Aman Sabha that this can be accomplished. The refutation of a false rumour on a lying report can not undo all the evil which such many have caused, but it serves the good purpose of instilling into the publicmind a doubt abouth the reliability of the source of the rumour on the report. And doubts once planted, and subsequently justified by proof, may lead to the complete discrediting of the mendacity mongers. We believe that not a little of the decline of public sympathy with Extremist proposals is the traced to the growing belief among the people that the words of those who propagate them can not be trusted. Exaggeration and mendacity are here bringing their inevitable results.

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"None so blind:--" 30 - 10 - 1924.

"None so blind as those who will not see" runs an old proverb and it is specially applicable to the majority of those who have commented upon the new Bengal ordinance. The existence of the revolutionary movement in Bengal they cannot deny that is admitted by the Swarajist Party leaders, and must be accepted even by their followers as a fact. But the equally true corollary that the revolutionary movement, secret and dastardly in its methods, must be met by exceptional measures. Some Writers say that the system of trial in open court should be preserved. We challenge any one of the Swarajist leaders, even Mr.C.R.Das himself, who, judging by his utterances, possesses exclusive knowledge of the remifications of the revolutionary movement, to give evidence in open court against any of those known to be engaged in revolutionary crime. Life is no less dear the ordinary Indian citizen, and if he fears that his life will be imerilled by telling what he knows about revolutionary activities, who can blame him if he decides that justice is of less value than life itself. It is to safeguard such men, to secure justice being done, the rights of the individual being respected, and the security and peace of India maintained, that the Viceroy has issued the new ordinance. The Government, as a Government, have little to gain from its enactment. They are, however, fulfilling their duty of preserving peace and ensuring the safety of the people and of public servants. We see no mention of these things in the Extremist comments on the Ordinance. Those who make them count peace and security - other men's peace and security as of less value than Party polemics. But the great mass of Indian

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~~opinion is~~ skill, we believe, on the side of the Government Such commentators are also wilfully blind to the real purpose of the revolutionaries in India. That purpose is not merely the establishment of self-government in India. It is the establishment of a communist regime were based on the Bolshemist model. Is there any one outside the revolutionary ranks who desires, does Mr.Das or Mr.Gandhi on Mr.S.Srinivasa Iyengar desire to see a communist regime established in India? If so, they should avow their desires, because the bulk of the Indian people do not want sequestration of property, the general adoption of forced labour, the suppression of ~~free~~ speech and the right to organise, the destruction of religious organisations, and godless tyranny over believers such are the elements of Bolshemist communism, and such are the aims of the terrorists in Bengal, whose methods of murder, robbery, and rapine are, by inference, being defended and excused in the Extremist Press and by Extremist leaders.

Courage Needed. 3 - 11 - 1924.

Commenting on the remarks of Mr.C.R.Das on the new Bengal ordinance the "observer" remarks that his remarks would carry more weight if he had the courage to stand for order. Without order there can be no liberty". This is so elementary an axiom of democracy that one would have expected to find the Government's determination to crush anarchy and present the association of peaceable citizens and loyal public officers approved by all leaders of public opinion. In this country. But what do we find? We find that the majority of those who speak or write on the subject spend hours in denouncing the Government's decisive policy and only allude casually, if all , to the destardly methods of the revolationaries. We even find one speaker at Bombay asserting that anarchy was the creation of the present administration and could not be suppressed if public opinion did not actively discourage it, and suggesting, by inference that the public preferred anarchy to the government's methods. He may do so personally, as may others who speak like him, yet we greatly doubt whether they would so clamly acquiesce in this view were the revolutionaries in their search for funds to decide that the many rich leaders of the Swarajist movement were fit subjects for docoity and blackmail. Another speaker in Bombay, Mr.Jamnadas Mehta, gave full rein to his imagination in denouncing the Bengal ordinance. Like others of his party who are anxious to make Party capital out of the government's action, he asserted that the Bengal ordinance was issued "with no conceivable object but the destruction of the morale of a peaceful and legitimate movement for the country's freedom".

That, is nonsense, There is no menace to any legitimate political movement in the Bengal condinance. But it does aim at restricting the harmful activities of revolutionaries to what ever political Party they may obstensibly belong. The Swarajists are angry because the arrests following the enactment of the ordinance have justified the contentions of those who have stated that members of their Party, including many of its leaders were playing with revolution. The swarajists do not answer that implication. They merely make the most wild accusations against a Government which has shown amazing forberance in the face of a growing anarchical movement. The Swarajists, and all those who are now attacking the Government, are deliberately encouraging anarchy. They are telling the revolutionaries that their sympathies are with them. And they will have to abide by the results Mr.V.Patel said anarchy could not be suppressed if public opinion did not actively discourage it. Are we to assure, therefore, by its failure to express its detestation of the murder of Mr.Day, and of the other crimes which the revolutionaries have committed, that public opinion in Bengal is in favour of anarchy. We know that the swarajists there thearatically prefer it to the present system of government, but we question whether the bulk of the people does. If public opinion has not expressed itself against anarchy it is because it has either been terrorised by the anarchists or has been bamboozled by the Swarajists into believing that the Government is responsible for the crimes of the anarchists. That is the evil doctrine which Mr.Patel preaches. But we know that in Madras no one who does not secretly favour violence, agrees with him. Anarchy

in India today owes its existence to two things, the provocative propaganda of Bolshemist emissaries and the more subtle but not less powerful encouragement of Swaraj st leaders. When, therefore, we read the Swarajists' hectic denunciations of the Government, let us remember that those who are at such pains to excuse themselves are their own accusers.

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Kicked out.   8 - 11 - 1924.

"A merciful Providence fashioned them hollow
That they might with convenience their principles
Swallow" Lowell-adapted

These lines occur to us as a fitting comment upon the Gandhi Swarajist agreement and the remarks of the Extremist Press thereon; One local contemporary, whose enthusiasm for non-co-operation at one time knew no bounds, and which until quite recently defended it, now declares:

"There is nothing to regret in its dis apperance "This is the final kick given to an abandoned offspring by the nurse who for years fondlad and caressed it. Mr.Gandhi, the arch opportunist, as readily abandons the body of his favourite child as he had formerly abandoned its trimings. Our contemporary remarks: "The constant modifications that it (non-co-operation) has had to undergo since its zemith have-left but little of the substance and only an unconvincing shadow". We said so long ago, and our contemporary heatedly contradicted us, but realisation comes slowly to those whose eyes are vlinded by prejudice. Like our Extremist contemporaries, we do not mourn over the abandonment of non-co-operation. It was always a monstrosity, and the picture of it abandoned and left to perish from neglect arouses in us no more sympathy than it arouses among Non-co-operators and Swarajists. And yet for the sake of India we could wish that its departure had not accompanied by such hypocrisy. It is as if Harad, having ordered the massacre of the innocents, follows the murders around and as each babe was slain cried in approved

meladramatic manner "Oh my child, my poor child".

The unholy bargain between Mr.Gandhi and Messrs C.R.Das and Nehru is aptly described in a neighbouring column. We would here emphasise that tragic aspect of the bargain to which our correspondent alludes What a spectacle political India today presents to the world. In order to present afictious appearance of Unity Mr.Gandhi has sacrificed the last shred of independence and allowed himself to be involved in a transaction which is repugnant in its palpable hypocrisy. He clings to Khaddar like a shipwrecked manner to his last plank. But since he cannot persuade others who have usurped his power to adopt his Khaddar doctrine he accepts a compromise involving vicarrious spinning. As the waves of failure and complete humiliation break over his head he crimes out in despair : "If you will not spin yourself at least pay others to spin for you". This is the latest compromise with principle. What a poorthing it is? And it was doomed to failure as all her previous efforts. Our contemporary hints as much. The cost of 24,000 yards of yarn a year will be considerably more than four annas, the present basis of the congress franchise. Who will pay the difference? Not many congressmen. And modifications will follow until Khaddar, now relegated to the role of a political regelia, to be warn only on ceremonial occasions, follows non-co-operation into the outer darkness. Britain looks to India for an index to future progress and she sees leaders bartering principles for bought yarn and a false unity. They see the trumpted idealist

succumb to the wiles of the cunning politician. Swarajist journals serving private interests and communities quarrelling about the spoils of office. And all this goes on under a veil of so called love of country too their to do more than accentrate the blocker elements. No Wonderous correspondent calls on India to repudiate the disgrace of the Swarajist - Gandhi agreement.

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Baldwin's Indian Policy. 12 - 11 - 1924.

Mr.Baldwin has announced his Governments policy towards India. It is one of peace and goodwill, but peace and goodwill based on strangth not on weakness. While political leaders are busy misrepresenting the Bengal audinance denying, entirely without evidence to support their denial, the truth of official statements, Mr.Baldwin reaffirms the object of the Ordinance, an object self evident in its terms, the suppressionof crimes of violence. He says: "His Majesty's Government will support with their full authority the Government of India in suppressing crimes of that nature (violence) by whomsoever and with whatso ever motive they are committed............I have no doubt that with steadfastness and in night a way can be found to perserve the Welfare of the people of India and assist their peaceful progress in the paths of economic and constitutional development". There is nothing of the reactionary in such a declaration. Like the Bengal Ordinance, if offers no menace to those who pursue constitutional ends by constitutional means. If, therefore, the Swarajist Party be truly a constitutional Party working on constitutional lines, as its leaders would have as believe, the Bengal Ordinance cannot touch it, and so far that ordinance has not been used against it, despite the hysterical assertions of Swarajists to the country.

India needs to day just such a policy as Mr. Baldwin has out lived. She is tired of political experiments, of the hectic activities of political propagandists. The continued modification of the Congress Programme proves it. Those who now control the congress do not trim their political sails unless they are compelled to. Popular opinion has veerd round

against such hair - brained schemes as the boycott of councils, of schools, of courts, of littles and the other spectacular proposals of the first year of Gandhi's capture of the congress organisation. One by one these things have been dropped and the congress to day is in the hands of a Party which is definitely in favour of using the councils as much as possible. The Swarajists are even now preparing to drop this own boycott of Ministerial office, and should the chance be given them we may yet see them in the Ministery. See how careful the Swarajists leaders have been to avoid the use of the word boycott in the terms of their latest effort to bring together the fragmented ranks of the congress. The word is now taboo in Swarajists quarters, and the Non-co-operations have accepted the taboo. Political parties do not act thus unless compelled to. The modification of the Extremists' platform is the justification for Mr.Baldwin's policy. In that policy Mr.Baldwin asks for the co-operation of "all Indians who believe that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly bound together". The number who hold his faith is not small. And it includes the vast mejority of those who, in India as a Great Britain, are the real guardians of national interests, all those who desire national progress to be sincere and well-founded, and who do not believe that nations can progress like Kangaroas by leaps, and bounds. The continual reversion of nations to conservative ideas, typefied in the result of the last general election, is in it self-a revolt against undue haste, a revelation of the

desire for consolidation, just as the careful climber before taking another step upwards consolidates the position on which it stands. India today feels the need of such a period of consolidation, and the Extremist Party admits it by tempering its programme to the national desire.

Britain and India. 19 - 11 - 1924.

Like many other true sons of India, Dewan Bahadur Vijayaraghavachariar finds himself assailed from many quarters. He is attacked by the Swarajists and other Extremists because he prefers co-operation to obstruction and is loyal to the Empire. He is attacked by a certain though dividing section of non-Brahmins because he is a Brahmin and holds office under the frown. But, like other loyal sons of India who have not allowed their reason to be blinded by prejudice and distorted by hatred, Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar has found that the blessed are those whom men revile and persecute. To them is given an exceeding great reward, the reward of the deep satisfaction arising out of service performed in their country's best interests. While he has been in England Mr.Acharia has been very busy looking after India's place in the Empire Exhibition. But he has not confined his attention soley to this matter. He has sought to discover the altitude of leading Britons towards India, and he has found that mone had any desire but to grant self-government to India at the propertime. There is, be found, no desire to treat India as a subject country. How different this picture from that commonly drawn by the Extremists. They speak of India as exploited by Great Britain, of Britain's anxiety, by denious ways, to keep India subject. But this is only talk. It is a traversity of facts and a denial of the teachings of the history of the British, connection with India. But Extremists seek title of facts, have small regard for truth. And it is because they build their case on the shifting roads of falsehood and misrepresentation

that they are so often compelled to change. Men may be persuaded to believe falsehoods for a short while, but truth will out, and then comes the reckoning. The truth of Britain's attitude towards India is summed up in Mr.Vijayaraghavachariar's remarks.

No one in Great Britain desires to deny India selfggovernment xxxxxxxx. All that is asked is that the grant of selfggovernment shouldbe so timid that there shall be no danger of the substitution of the present constitution by an oligarchy of the victimi-sation of minorities or of internecive strife born of communal jealousy. Can any Party in India truly say that the grant of immediate selfggovernment to India would be fraught with none of these dangers? There are those who claim that the possibility of such things happening is no concern of Great Britain, that India should be given self government immediately and "damn the consequences". But that is not the attitude a faith ful steward of the interests of India's many millions can adopt. Nor is it the attitude which would appeal to the British people. They are essentially conservative. They believe in progressing, they welcome view ideas - witness the remarkable progress of the xxx labour movement in great Britain within the last 25 years :- but before taking any step they wants to know just where that step is going to take them. This explains in no small measure the moderation of the British socialists. British xxxxxxxxxxx communists even do not advocate the practical adoption of the methods of the Bolshemiks to whose creed they subscribe. The British communist

is, when one comes into direct contact watch him, a very mild individual compared with his contemporary in Mascow or the latters' desciples in Bengal. It is this innate conservatism of the British people, the determination to build on firm foundations or not to build at all, which has fashioned the Empire and set the Dominions firmly on their fect. Is it desirable that in regard to India the British people should throw their natural caution to the winds!

The minorities in India answer that questions with an emphatic 'No' They ask for security, for guarantee, for an assured position. They do not want devocracy as the west understands it, a democracy based on the mere counting of heads. Such a democracy in India would at the moment place all power in the hands of a dominent community would embitter minorities and engender strife. Indians themselves have not been able to solve the problem of communal fears. There is meeting in Bombay a gathering of political leaders whose object is to find a specific for unity in Political action. That gathering of political leaders whose object is to find a specific for unity in political action. That gathering willfail whatever specific it may desire to achieve its ends because the people of India are not today ready for such unity. India is more reaping the harvest of disunion sprung from the seeds of hate sown by leaders of Extremist parties during recent years.......Hatred can not be cabined and confined. The feelings provacative speeches arose do not produce the state of mind which makes analysis easy. And those who have taught the masses to believe that they are exploited and tyramised over by a foreign

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bureaucracy can not complain when the masses apply the same arguments to those nearer home and see in the preponderance of a more dangerous because more directly interested exploitation, But the outlook is not wholy dark. There are signs that political leaders realise that the teaching of hatred does not pay and are abandoning such propaganda. It is fear which is the chief enemy of India's progress, and that fear can only be ~~dissolved~~ dispelled by a change in theme and methods on the part of many of those who claim to be the nation's leaders. Britain is not hostile.

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"The play's the Things. 22 - 11 - 1924.

Act I of the Unity farce of Bombay has proceeded on the lines anticipated Mr.Mohamed Ali, the producer, reminded those on the stage that although other Parties had been invited to take part in the show it was really the property of the All India congress committee, thus conveying a delicate hint that members of other Parties should not try to trium the light" of the Swarajist stars. With the atmosphere for the farce thus prepared, the "business" was proceeded with. With an impressive humility the producer resigned the directon's claim to a non-party man the position of prompter is so much more useful after all. Then Mr.Gandhi, newly converted to Swarajism, followed with another charming display of humility. The framing of a resolution on the policy of the Government in Bengal was beyond his powers. In that task he must have the assistance of a committee consisting of representatives of all Parties. Such sweet humility in a star impressed most of the other performers. There were, however, some whom it did not hood wink. One opposed to be proposal on the ground that it savoured of secret diplomacy - of the methods of the Bengal anarchists in fact. Mrs.Besant, seemingly the sole heroine in the play, denounced the proposal to pass such a resolution and declared emphatically that the Government's action was justified and affermed her disbelief in the Swarajist contention that the ordinance was directed against political parties. Then came the Bengali advocate who introduced the racial theme into the dialogue. With such a producer it was impossible that this theme could remain long unvoiced and expectations were not disappointed. "When one is charged with conspiracy white

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white judges always condemn", rolled out of the loquacious Bengali's month with a special flavour. How the producer - prompter's eyes must have ghistened with delight.

Shortly afterwards appeared the apprehensive Non-Brahmin on the seene. His appearance was still that of the unwilling schoolboy. One could see the tip of the "Declined with thanks" letter, originally drafted as his reply to the producer's invitation, sticking out of his pocket. He was inclined to be gay. "They had been called for unity, but there was a lurking suspicion that some Party desired to get a resolution on the Bengal ordinance passed and then turned them out bag and baggage". Such an insight into the intentions of a playweight are vouchsafed to few in the first Act, and we heartily commened this Non-Brahmin player on his penetration. But what could one, and that an unwilling one, do among so many. The Swarajist cum Nationalist unNon-co-operation crowed swallowed him up. Our own particular "Menstor heed" S.Satyamurthi, roared out his lines in the familiar manner.

Familiar lines they were too. His style is streatyped, and the Bombay producer could not do better than let it be. How familiar sound the words: "No case had been made out for the extreme measure adopted by Lord Lytton". We almost imagine we are in the Madras Legislative Council again or standing on the Triplicane Beach. And, too, howfamialiarly perverse is the remark: "That there is no organised conspiracy would be proved by the fact that Sir Alexander Muddiman and Sir Basil Blackett had told Pundit Motilal Nehru only a month back that the Government were seriously contemplating the repeal of repressive laws". To most men such a remark by these two government representatives would ha ve

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~~have~~ conveyed a willingness to meet Indian opinion, and the fact that instead of repealing the laws the Government her had to introduce a new repressive ordinance would have been taken as evidence of the gravity of the situation. Not so with Mr.Satyamurthi. His is a mind that, like an ill-made mirror, distorts everything that enters it. He gives a lie to his principle just as readily as he does to the Government, but the Bombay crowd applauded him, for it matters not what swarajist players say, how great the discord in their utterances, so long as their peroration is on the same theme, the theme that Government are always in the wrong.

~~But let us proceed, to Scene II. This~~

But let us proceed to Scene II. This took place at Mr.Gandhi's residence, an ideal atmosphere for a Farce. Here some heated exchanges took place between the various players. At times it seemed as if the Farce might turn into a tragedy, but numbers tell, and indue course the wanted finale was obtained by the prompter producer. A resolution long and dogmatic, as such resolutions usually are, was passed condemning the actions of the Governor general, demanding the immediate withdwaral of the ordinance, and suggesting by a subttle in nuendo that no organised anarchical movement exists in Bengal. The resolution is a triumph for the Swarajists, but it lies when it says it - these things go by rule, of thumb in every Swarajist conference - represents all classes and communities of India and every variety of political opinion. The conference does nothing of the Sort. It represents an infinitesimal fraction of the people of India as is, for the greater part, obsassed with one idea, the overthrow of the present constitution. To claim a representative character for such a gathering is a tranesty of the truth, the greatest joke in the whole Farce.

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Lord Lytton Replies. 25 - 11 - ~~2924~~. 1924.

For one who has been so bitterly and so unfairly attacked, Lord Lytton shows remarkable forbearance in his reply to the slanderous attacks made upon him. To those who allege that the Bengal Ordinance is an attack upon the Swarajist Party. Lord Lytton replies: "My object is not to suppress or hamper any political movement which is conducted within the law, but to make it possible for all men whatever their political opinions, to express them freely without fear of assassination". We saw yesterday to which side the leaders of the Swarajist Party lean. Pundit Motilal Nehru's apologia for murderers gain an added significance in the light of Lord Lytton's speech. Much has been made of the fact that prominent members of the Swarajist Party have been arrested, including the chief Executive officer of the Swarajist city council in Calcutta. Lord Lytton replies: "Every single man who has been arrested under regulation 3 of 1818 or under the new ordinance is a member of a terrorist organisation that seeks to attain its objects by violence and intimidation and purposes, if not checked, to carry out more murders. Every man, too, who has been arrested is being detained not on the isolated statements of a single informer, but on evidence from many different sources, spread over many months, which has to satisfy the Government of Bengal as well as two independent judges, and in the case of regulation 3 of the Government of India and the Viceroy himself... that he is not merely a member of but an active participator in this terrorist conspiracy". To those who

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still retain an open mind these seem to be adequate procautions against victimisation. They will not satisfy the Swarajists and those who now clamour against the ordinance. The Swarajists fearful of the effect of this disclosure of the activities of prominent members of their party will redouble the vehemence of their protests. But mere protests disprove nothing. Lord Lytton has done what he can, compatible with the safety of witnesses, to place the public in possession of the facts known to his Government. The issue before Bengal, and before the country, resolutions of a fake unity conference not withstanding, is whether the Government is, or is not, to be supported in its measures against a small body of men who would arrogate to themselves. The right to decide what political principles shall hold and who shall live and who shall die. Such men have no right to the protection of the law. They are the enemies of mankind, and enemies of their country encouraged in their fell activities by the sympathetic utterances of Swarajists leaders Lord Lytton and his government desire to protect the liberty of the subject; the terrorists desires to abolish it in India as their colemn pararies and mentors have done in Russia. In such a contest the support of a people anxious for national progress can only be on one side, the side of the forces of law andorder. And we feel certain that there is not a man or woman in India out side the ranks of the terrorists who does not, in his or her own heart, hold that the government's policy is right. To concede anything else is to concede that the future of India lies in anarchy and to elevate murder to the status of a virtue.

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Wisley Decided. 2 - 12 - 1924.

By instructing its president Mr.V.J.Patel to attend, when invited as official representative of the corporation, functions in honour of the Viceroy, the Bombay corporation yesterday evening administered a well deserved reproof of Mr.Patel. The latter had previously announced that he did not intend to attend such functions. His snobbish decision - for there is xxx as much snobbery in Mr.Patel's attitude as there is in the attitude of the climber' who hunts for invitations to official functions and yet will have nothing to do with the folk below- was against the interests of the corporation. As yesterday's debate showed, by his foolish action, by his wilful refusal to undertake one of the duties of his office, Mr.Patel was inperilling a provilege which the corporation, though its most distinquished President, had streneuously fought for. One Member declared that no one could compell the President to attend the functions in question. But though the corporation may not be able to compel Mr.Patel to attend those functions, it can, and xxx did show that if he still refuse to attend he is acting contrary to the wishes of the majority of the members and should resign, since he is unable to fulfil the requirements of his office. There is much of this smobblishness evident in Extremist political circles. Not a few in them boast of refusing all official invitations to social functions, even to those in honour of Indians . Such foolish folk reveal their intellectual limitations, their total inability to

total inability to keep political bitterness out of social life, thus proving their complete incapacity to achieve that nice balance in the claims of conflicting affairs of life which is essential in those who would govern a country.

The Muslim Revolt. 12 - 12 - 1924.

The increasing revolt of Muslims against Swarajist domination is further demonstrated by a resolution passed by the Jannist -al-Ulema at a Conference in Pabna in Bengal. The Conference expressed its disapproval of the action of the Bengal Legislative Council in refusing the Minister's Salaries, and asked the Governor to disolve the Council in order that more truly representative members might be returned. The conference called upon Muslim Members who voted against the salaries to resign. These resolutions will be denied any importance by the Swarajists and their fellow Extremists; but they remain as a definite expression of the opinion of a representative body of Muslims, They bear witness to the fact, apparent all over India, that Muslims are beginning to see that the Ali brothers are false guides, and that alliance with the Swarajists means the subjection of Muslim interests. Their belief is not lessened by the accusations against Muslims being made in the Swarajist Press regarding the Kobat riots and like conflicts. In the opinion of that Press the aggressors invariably belong to one community, and that not the Hindi. Such opinions standout all the more glaring in the light of the pretended anxiety for intercommunal unity which such journals, and the politicians they support, profess. Communal anity can best be attained by an impartial consideration of facts, but it is impossible to expect such impartiality from men whose vission is distorted by the communal spectacles they wear.

A Boomerang. 12 - 12 - 1924.

"Till their own dreams, at length deceive them,
And oft repeating, they believe them", Prior"

Such is the habit of which Mr.C.R.Das accuses Lord Lytton. The Swarajist leader, in his reply to His Excellency declares that by frequent repetition His Excellency has persuaded himself that the arrests made in Bengal were justified. But how appropriately the same argument may becaused against, Mr.Das and his followers? They have but one cry, and they chant it together in chorm or alone, in the Press and xxxxxx on the platform, in the street and in the dwelling place, whereever they can secure a sympathetic audience, and that they never lack since they are always satisfied with their own company. It runs: The ordinance is unjust, the arrests are unjustified, the use of the regulation III is most unjustified, the ordinance is aimed at the Swarajist Party, produce your evidence" This has become with them a mantrum for all occasions. It is impossible to open a Swarajist paper - save the Bombay chronicle" occasionally when it is pleading for protection for some special interest without seeing the chart in whole or in part But Lord Lytton does not allege that the Swarajists are self deceivers. He probably attributes to them, or at least to their leaders, the more astute mind of the skilled advertiser who knows that ideas, like nails, go the farther xxxxxx house the more you hammer them. And not intending to allow his adversaries a monopoly of advertising skill, His Excellency rightly meets their cry with another, and one less unsubstantial than theirs because while making it he can point to

bloody crimes of the movement against which the Bengal Ordinance and Government action under Regulation III are aimed.

The summary of Das's speech contains not one line of argument, not one fact in support of its statement. It reiterates beliefs, beliefs born of oft repetition. Mr.Das assares Lord Lytton, with the boldness of assumption characteristic of the Swarajists, that no human being believes that the men arrested under the Ordinance or Regulation III are really implicated in the anarchical movement. No reasons are produced for this assertion. It is given forth with the dogmatical assurance of the most reactionary theologist. It may be that Mr.Das holds the belief, that whether he does or not, it is quite evident that he wants others to hold it. Lord Lytton, with much more reason, advances the other side, and leaves it to men to choose between them. And current movements in Bengal indicate that the people are at least being convinced of the lack of substance in the Swarajist arguments and are turning more and more to the constitutional and lawabiding. Mr.Das makes in his speech one move of those oblique defences of revolutionaries which we have come to expect from him. He gives it his blessing by interpreting it as a struggle for freedom, as though Freedom were ever served by murder or intimidation. He encourages those who dabble in revolutionary methods by declaring that the revolution will never die until the Government recognise his special ~~kandx~~ brand of freedom a freedom which implies the domination of the

Swaraj Party and the dectatorship of Das. And having given the revolutionaries a paternal pat on the back, he goes on to misrepresent wilfully the position of a minister under the Reforms and to give the lamest excuse we have yet heard given by a popular leader for his evasion of responsibility,

Mr.Das may convince himself, and those who parrot like each of his words, that he was justified in refusing the offer of the Ministry in Bengal, but he will never convince those who place performance before words, or who see in the assumption by the people's chosen representatives of Ministerial officers, the acceptance of an obligation which democracy imposes upon those who claim to lead, Mr. Das twists Lord Lytton with being young, forgetful of the fact that the Swaraj Party is made up mainly of young and inexperienced students and youths who lack the balance of manhood on the stability of knowledge. We agree with Mr.Das in onething, and that is in congratulating Lord Lytton on his achievement in helping forward the cause of India. But we congratulate him for a different reason. We see in the courage with which Lord Lytton has confronted anarchy an assertion on behalf of the Indian people that tyranny is no more to be allowed to prevail in India, that the will of the many, not of the few, is to govern her future policy. Such is the spirit of true democracy, a spirit which is as much opposed to Party as to individual domination, a spirit which seeks the happiness of the many, not the aggrandisement of the few.

The Supreme Egoist. 15 - 12 - 1924.

Mr.Gandhi, has appeared before the public in many roles, but there is one which he never ceases to maintain. Whether he appears as the non-violent "Saint", the fasting wonder, the spinning marvel, the wondor of unity mostrums, or the humble sacrifice, in all of which he has made starring appearances, he remains in each guise the supreme egoist. This Gandhi on which public attention is focussed, not the cause. It is Gandhi thus and Gandhi that, Gandhi wishes thus and Gandhi urges that, poured out in long screeds in his own special publicity organ, Young India" , and uttered on every platform on which he appears. The linelight which he thus keeps central on himself provokes from his followers' crimes of admiration and the parrotlike repetition of his words. And so clever is he that he has been able to harmess the great news agency in India to his publicity chariot. Having succeeded so far, he is becoming antocratic. Like other stars, the heady wine of publicity is upsetting his mental balance, with the result that today he assumes the right to dictate to the Press. In a statement which he has issued he says, regarding the reports of his speeches in the Punjab: "I warned the reporters against reporting me without first showing their reports to me" of course, his warning was ignored by those reporters who possessed that spirit of independence which is the proud boast of the journalistic profession. They published his speech as it was delivered, not as he would have it printed, And the result is that the supreme egoist adoptes the cry of all speakers whose words in print betray how poor a thing they have produced. He says."The result is a tramesty of what I did say". One can see beneath

~~poor a thing they have produced.~~ He says. ~~"The result is a tramesty of what I did say" One can see beneath~~ this remark the pathetic plea of incautious speakers everywhere. They protest that they did not say what they did say, and became the reporter, even when confronted with a verbation note, they merely take refuge in asserting that they were misheard. Mr.Gandhi is no more original than they. And his protests carry as little conviction.

And this would be censor of the Press, this politician who claims the right to revise his speeches before publication, a right which not even Kings and Presidents claim, he tells the public. "Don't believe a word of what may be reported of me, unless the report is authenticated by me" and, we would add, don't believe them that it is what he said at the meeting. Mr.Gandhi, is not in the habit of making written speeches, and no man can recall word for word utterances made on the public platforms. Mr.Gandhi presumes too much when he pretends that he and he alone can know what he said in a public speech. He may know what he intended to say, but that is another matter. What the public want is not what he or any other speaker intended to say, but what he did say. And in Mr.Gandhi's case, as in many others, the two are not always the same thing.

But wait, the supreme egoist does not let the opportunity pass or giving himself and his wares another boost. In the Pubjab he told his audience that he was preparing a scheme whereby those who follow his advice - the foolish few, would either achieve swaraj or die.

To day he announces that, like the late Mr.Bonal Law, he is all for tranquility, at least for a year. He wants, like that distinquished English politician, how little them is oligarial in the Gandhi rehash of the Tolstory, Morris, corpenter creeds- a period of quiet constructive work. But like an astute shawman, he knows that such will make no spectacular appeal to the public, so he adds the charm of anticipation and the promise of political fide works on the future. Just work quiekly and constructively for a year", he says in effect, "and then you shall have as much excitement as the most ardent thrill maniac could desire"

It is a clever appeal. But Mr.Gandhi has never yet suceeeded in delivering the goods in the manner he has promised. And in this case his promise is initiated by the terms of the preparation he requires. A year of constructive work. Have the Swarajists, the no-changers, and their revolutionary-minded collegues ever done anything constructive? Their whole creed is destructive, their purpose is destructive. They are the destroyers, they have not a tool in their possession fit for constructive work, no plan on which such work can be built. Study the history of non-co-operation, and of the congress since Mr.Gandhi became the leading figure in its activities. It is one long record of failure, fission, and decay. Not a single item in the non-co-operation programme succeeded, and today Mr.Gandhi, recognising his failure, is endeavouring to cover up the desolation he has caused by a spurious unity. Students of the movement will see an evil portent in the period fixed by Mr.Gandhi. In 1920 Mr.Gandhi promised India Swaraj in a year. He failed, as he was bound to fail, and the sequd was

outrage and bloodshed. Is India to experience the like on a more intensive scale in 1926? Is this the excitement which he promises ardent spirits - Bengal Revolutionaries and the like? Peace loving Indians would do well to note both his promise and its portents. For they, not Mr,Gandhi, willbe the sufferers.

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Europeans in India. 24 : 12 : 1924.

There is a world of difference between the methods by which the Extremists approach the subject of self-government in India and those of responsible Europeans. The Extremists have eyes for nothing other than their own particular nostrum Europeans, while sincerely anxious for the progressive advance of India towards. Self-government, frankly admit that it is a subject of great complexity, one regarding which many interests have to be taken into consideration. The megalomania of the Extremists reveals itself in Mr.Gandhi's appeal to Europeans in India to boycott foreign cloth and thus assist in the endeavour to deal a mortal blow to Lancashire and though Lancashire, to Great Britain. What Briton worthy of the name would listen for a moment to such a proposal with such an object. Mr.Gandhi must think all Britons in India traitors to the land of their bith. Yet few people owes much to Briton as does Mr.Gandhi. Contract his attitude towards Great Britain with that of Mr.T.M.Ross towards India in his speech to the chamber of commerce. Yesterday. The latter breath a goodwill and an earnest desire to help India's political advancement. The former is inspired by hatred and anxiety to do the great amount of harm possible. Happily there is no question regarding which attitude makes the widest appeal to the Indian people. Gandhi is a much advertised much lauded demagogue, but few men practise his precepts. He has failed consistently in his endeavours to control public life in India, and his present effort is no more stunt to revive waning power. Mr.Ross expresses the views of

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men, Indians and Europeans alike, who are promoting her welfare in the numerous spheres which make a notion truly great, and who, when lowlessness seeks to establish itself in the land, are not afraid to speak out against it and to support the authoritie s in suppressing it.

Sleep. 24 - 12 - 1924.

With scarce a bleat the congress subject committee has accepted the dictatorship of Das and Gandhi and have agreed to proposals which make the one dictator of the congress in the only field of activity which counts in India today, that of the councils, and satisfies the varrity of the other by adopting a franchise which, as Mr.Gandhi himself stated, is repregnant to the majority. In future, if a person wishes to remain in the congress he will have to spin, or purchase 2,000 yard of yarn per month, not" per year", as some comments would suggest. And he should, if he follows ~~Mrs.~~ Mr.Gandhi's dictum, supervise the spinning of the yarn which he purchases or otherwise procures. This is the Gandhi-Das method of broadening a franchise. The Congress franchise has hither to bear the payment of four annas per year. It is now to be the equivalent of many times that amount. It is a queer inversion of democratic methods, but fully in keeping with the dictatorial ~~methods, but fully in keeping with the dictatorial~~ policy of the Gandhi Das combination. The report of the proceedings in which this decision was taken makes sickening reading to all who hope for the growth of the spirit of democracy in India. It shows that there are still many Indians willing to swallow unquestioningly any political nostrum at the bidding of a dominant personality. Any prominent politician has only to get up and Bully a congress crowd and it succumbs at once and follows as meakly as sheep, into the bobby which the politian indicates. Mr.Gandhi said that he had been told that there was much opposition to his proposed Fran-chise, as there is to the proposal that the swarajists should be the sole representatives of the congress in the council. But the only one to make a definite stand against

the spinning franchise was Mr.V.J.Patel and his opposition was rudely dismissed by Mr.C.R.Das as being of no account. Any opposition to the spinning franchise in the Swaraj Party will, Mr.Das indicates, be ruthlessly crushed.
We can see Messrs Gandhi and Das chuckling to gether over the spineless state to which they have reduced a once respected political institution. ~~We wonder, however whether political institution.~~ We wonder, however whether they and their supporters ever stop to think of the incalculable harm they are doing to the cause of selfgovernment in India. For though they may close their eyes to the fact, no democratic country, least of all Great Britain whose political history is that of one long struggle against dictators and caucases, will willingly hand over masses of illiterate and politically voiceless people to the dictator ship of a carcas such as that which now dominates congress.

<u>Gandhi's Swaraj.</u> 26 - 12 - 1924.

It is to be presumed that not even a matter for justing. We must, therefore, assume that the plan for Swaraj contained in his Presidential Address to the Belgaum congress is a serious effort. We may assume advisedly, for it is difficult to believe that this latest exposition of Gandhism state craft is to be taken seriously and is not to be regarded as a supreme joke, intended to give some relief to a long and wearisome speech", the spoken delivery of which even Mr.Gandhi apparently thinks to be too severe a strain to put upon any audience. Hence his decision to let it be taken as read. Assuming, however, that the plan is intended as a serious effort in statecraft, let us look at its terms. First comes the franchise, properly placed in view of the importance of securing a good electoral foundation for a constitution. Having placed franchise first, Mr.Gandhi proceeds to show how barren of ideas he is. He would have parliaments built up on afoundation of yarn. His franchise is to be a mannual franchise, "such, for example, as that suggested for the congress". The suggested congress franchise provides for the buying of yarn by those unwilling to spin themselves. The buying of votes in this way, is immoral even in a political organisation, it is intolerable in a democratic constitution. Yet Mr.Gandhi - the high principled, as his worshippers call him. sees nothing wrong in bought votes. Under his franchise political masses would merely have to subsidise unlimited numbers of charka manipulators and they could secure themselves powerfor ever. Such is democracy in a Gandhi swaraj.

Mr.Gandhi knows nothing about military expenditure. So he very wisely says that under his swaraj the ~~various~~ minim

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military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times, a definition which would satisfy the most ardent militerist and the most wasteful of spendthrifts. Of course, Mr.Gandhi would take no X revenues from intoxicating liquors and drugs, these things would presumably be free to all who cared to produce them, but we can not see any great rejoicing among Indian public servants at the proposal that their salaries should be reduced, and we do not recall any avowal by an existing Indian Publicservant before the lee commission that his salary was too high. On the contrary we find the unconvenanted services, in which Indians are in the majority, claiming that they should be paid more than they now receive. Mr.Gandhi, however, realises that if he is to do without the extise income, he will have to cut somethin down, and the salaries of government employees naturally occur to him as one field for retrenchment.

For the rest, this scheme of Swaraj is a retrash of old proposals. The redivision of India into Provinces on a linguistic basis is an old theme, but no Indian politician has yet been able to indicate how such a procss would help to unify India, or consolidate its people into one great nation. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the division of India into linguistic Provinces would tend to Balkanise the country, converting it into a congeries of independent states, each jealous of the other and divided by the very real barier of language. The present constitution recognises the right of the individual to complete freedom in religious matter, the proposal to transfer the final court of appeal from London to India has been long discussed in India and rejected by thoughtfull Indians who value the privilege,

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cherished too, by the other dominions, of appealing to the privy council. The simplification of legal processes is a matter in which successive Governments have sought to take action, but each effort has been wrecked on the rock of Indian National habits. Litigation in India is not infrequently a pastime and any curtailing of the opportunities to enjoy that pastime is strengthy combated. And what about the lawyers, the main stay of Mr.Gandhi's congress. Does he intend to offer them a charka in place of briefs? This fantastic swaraj is commended to our readers attention. It affords seasonable reading for a season associated with merriment and laughter, and as they churckle over its quaint provisions we would ask them to envisage the great spinning hall where in Gandhi's followers daily assemble to spin their quoter of yarn. It is an adjunct to the congress Pandal and the two together typify India under Gandhism, a land afflicted with a perpetual hum, the hum of the dictatorial humbugs.

Congress and Leninism. 29 - 12 - 1924.

Just as it is the straw which shows how the wind blows, so it is the minor resolutions moved in the Extremist's congress that show the force which moves it. In the All India congress committee meeting on Sunday (28th) a resolution was moved expressing its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Lenin. More important than the resolution was the speech, of its mover. He said, among other things, We may not agree with his Lenin's methods today; we may agree with them someday; if not in the nearfuture, probably at some distant date". That a man can get up in a body which proclaims itself non.violent in policy and declare that some day that body will probably resort to the unscrupulous and bloodthurs methods of Lenin; and what is more, secure 54 votes for his resolution and indirect support for his views, shows how this is the veneer which separates congress policy from that of bloody revolution. It is true that Mr.Gandhi and other leaders opposed the motion, but the fact remains that in the congress working committee, the executive of the congress body which pretends to speak for India, these are 54 men who deplore the death of the man who caused a terrible amount of suffering and much bloodshed among his own countrymen and who helped to place in power those who ~~xxxxx~~ today rule Russia by methods of unparalleled terrorism. Is it unfair to assume that in the minds of those 54 members of the congress working committee, Bolshevism is not an inhuman creed, but a policy which they may yet drive congress to adopt?

which they may yet drive congress to adopt? Swaraj and Soviet to them are inter changeable terms. It is well that India should know these things, and Mr. Jehargir Petel is to be thanked for making the facts known.

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381/RI/85.

446/RI/85

650/RI/85

210/RI/87

702/87

415/89

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